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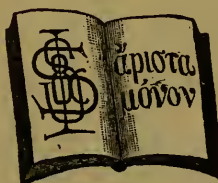
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MACAULAY'S SECOND ESSAY

ON THE
EARL OF CHATHAM.

EDITED BY

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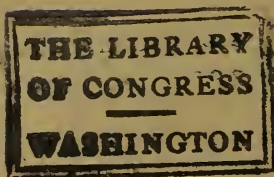
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P R E F A C E.

THIS essay is the last Macaulay ever wrote for the *Edinburgh Review*. It bears the stamp of his mature years, and is a model of pure, straightforward English. The object of the essay, as a requirement for admission to the colleges of New England, is to present to the young student an example of what is most worthy of study and imitation in English style. The essay is to be studied as a piece of literature, and the notes are to be brought into service only as an aid to a complete understanding of the text. To those, however, who desire to gain a knowledge of English History,—and I believe there is no better way to study the political history of the period covered by the essay,—the notes will be found suggestive. Some one has said that Macaulay wrote of Pitt with more sympathy and deeper insight than of any other statesman.

W. W. CURTIS.

PAWTUCKET, R.I., 1891.



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CHRONOLOGY OF MACAULAY'S LIFE.

- 1800.** Born on October 25, at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire.
He was the eldest son of Zachary Macaulay and Selina Mills.
- 1818.** October. Entered Trinity College.
- 1822.** Graduated as B.A.
- 1824.** Elected to a Fellowship.
- 1825.** August. Contributed his first article to the *Edinburgh Review*, an essay on Milton.
- 1826.** February. Called to the Bar and joined the Northern Circuit.
- 1828.** Commissioner of Bankruptcy.
- 1830.** Elected a member of Parliament for Calne.
- 1830-32.** Speeches on the Reform Bill, which "placed him in the front rank of orators, if not of debaters."
Left penniless by the abolition of the Commissionership of Bankruptcy, and the expiration of his Fellowship.
- 1834.** January. Contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* his first Essay on the Earl of Chatham.
- 1834.** February 15. Sailed for Madras, India, to become the legal adviser to the Supreme Council of India.
- 1837.** Drew up the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure.
- 1838.** June. Returned to England.
Death of his father.

1838. October. Tour in Italy.
1839. Elected a member of Parliament for Edinburgh.
- 1839-41. Secretary of War in Whig Ministry.
1842. Lays of Ancient Rome published.
1844. October. His second Essay on the Earl of Chatham appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*.
- 1846-48. Paymaster General of the Forces.
1847. Defeated for re-election.
1848. First two volumes of his History of England published.
1849. Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow.
Took a formal leave of political life.
1852. Again elected for Edinburgh, although not a candidate.
Loss of health.
1854. Authorized collection of his speeches published.
1855. Third and fourth volumes of History of England.
1856. Resigned his seat in Parliament.
1857. Raised to a Peerage with title of Baron Macaulay.
1859. December 28. His death.

CHRONOLOGY OF PITT'S LIFE.

- 1708.** November 15. Born at Boconnoc, in Cornwall. He was the second son of Robert Pitt and Harriet Villiers. His grandfather, Thomas Pitt, was Governor of Madras, India, and brought home the celebrated Pitt diamond, afterwards the most precious of the crown jewels of France.
- 1725.** Entered Trinity College, Oxford.
Forced to leave college before taking a degree, because of gout, which always troubled him. Travelled in France and Italy for his health. Choosing the army for his profession, he obtained a cornet's commission.
- 1735.** Entered Parliament for Old Sarum.
Opponent of the Walpole ministry.
- 1736.** April. His first speech in Parliament was on the marriage of Frederic, Prince of Wales.
Groom of the bed-chamber to that prince.
Began to be recognized as an orator.
- 1742.** Excluded from the new cabinet formed on the resignation of Walpole.
Acted with the opposition. Denounced Carteret.
- 1744.** The Pelhams in power.
- 1746.** Paymaster of the Forces.
- 1754.** Married Hester Grenville, sister of Earl Temple and George Grenville.
- 1754.** Henry Pelham died, and the Duke of Newcastle succeeded him.

1755. Leader of the Opposition.
1756. November. Newcastle forced to resign.
- 1756 (Dec.)-1757 (April). Pitt Premier. Forced to resign.
1757. April-July. Government without a ministry.
July. Coalition between Pitt and Newcastle, Pitt becoming Secretary of State.
1759. The great victories in America, India, and Europe.
Pitt called the "Great Commoner."
Height of his popularity.
1761. October. Resigned. Accepted an annual pension of £3,000 for three lives.
His wife created a peeress.
1765. Refused to assume the direction of affairs at the request of the king.
- 1765-66. Speeches condemning the Stamp Act.
1766. He forms a new ministry and takes the Privy Seal for himself.
Raised to a Peerage with the title of Earl of Chatham.
Secluded himself for nearly two years at Hayes, because of sickness (mental).
1768. October. Resigned.
- 1770-71. Health restored. Again in his seat in Parliament.
1775. Speech on the American War.
1777. Speech against employing Indians to aid the English in America.
1778. April 7. Fell in an apoplectic fit while addressing the Lords.
1778. May 11. Death.

INTRODUCTION.

“William Pitt, . . . the greatest minister of his century, one of the few very great men of his age, among orators the only peer of Demosthenes, the man without title or fortune, who, finding England in an abyss of weakness and disgrace, conquered Canada and the Ohio valley and Guadaloupe, sustained Prussia from annihilation, humbled France, gained the dominion of the seas, won supremacy in Hindostan, and at home vanquished faction.” . . .

GEORGE BANCROFT.

“The depth of his conviction, his passionate love for all that he deemed lofty and true, his fiery energy, his poetic imaginative-ness, his theatrical airs and rhetoric, his haughty self-assumption, his pompousness and extravagance, were not more puzzling to his contemporaries than the confidence with which he appealed to the higher sentiments of mankind, the scorn with which he turned from a corruption which had, till then, been the great engine of politics, the undoubting faith which he felt in himself, in the grandeur of his aims, and in his power to carry them out.”

J. R. GREEN.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM.¹

MORE than ten years ago we commenced a sketch of the political life of the great Lord Chatham. We then stopped at the death of George the Second, with the intention of speedily resuming our task. Circumstances, which it would be tedious to explain, long prevented us 5 from carrying this intention into effect. Nor can we regret the delay. For the materials which were within our reach in 1834 were scanty and unsatisfactory, when compared with those which we at present possess. Even now, though we have had access to some valuable 10 sources of information which have not yet been opened to the public, we cannot but feel that the history of the first ten years of the reign of George the Third is but imperfectly known to us. Nevertheless, we are inclined to think that we are in a condition to lay before our 15 readers a narrative neither uninteresting nor uninteresting. We therefore return with pleasure to our long interrupted labor.

We left Pitt in the zenith of prosperity and glory, the

¹ Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1840.

Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, to Horace Mann. 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1843-4.

idol of England, the terror of France, the admiration of the whole civilized world. The wind, from whatever quarter it blew, carried to England tidings of battles won, fortresses taken, provinces added to the empire.

5 At home, factions had sunk into a lethargy, such as had never been known since the great religious schism of the sixteenth century had roused the public mind from repose.

In order that the events which we have to relate may
10 be clearly understood, it may be desirable that we should advert to the causes which had for a time suspended the animation of both the great English parties.

If, rejecting all that is merely accidental, we look at the essential characteristics of the Whig and the Tory,
15 we may consider each of them as the representative of a great principle, essential to the welfare of nations. One is, in an especial manner, the guardian of liberty, and the other, of order. One is the moving power, and the other the steadying power of the state. One is the sail,
20 without which society would make no progress, the other the ballast, without which there would be small safety in a tempest. But, during the forty-six years which followed the accession of the House of Hanover, these distinctive peculiarities seemed to be effaced.
25 The Whig conceived that he could not better serve the cause of civil and religious freedom than by strenuously supporting the Protestant dynasty. The Tory conceived that he could not better prove his hatred of revolutions than by attacking a government to which a revolution had given birth. Both came by degrees to attach more

importance to the means than to the end. Both were thrown into unnatural situations; and both, like animals transported to an uncongenial climate, languished and degenerated. The Tory, removed from the sunshine of the court, was as a camel in the snows of Lapland. The 5 Whig, basking in the rays of royal favor, was as a reindeer in the sands of Arabia.

Dante tells us that he saw, in Malebolge, a strange encounter between a human form and a serpent. The enemies, after cruel wounds inflicted, stood for a time 10 glaring on each other. A great cloud surrounded them, and then a wonderful metamorphosis began. Each creature was transfigured into the likeness of its antagonist. The serpent's tail divided itself into two legs; the man's legs intertwined themselves into a tail. The body 15 of the serpent put forth arms; the arms of the man shrank into his body. At length the serpent stood up a man, and spake; the man sank down a serpent, and glided hissing away. Something like this was the transformation which, during the reign of George the First, 20 befell the two English parties. Each gradually took the shape and color of its foe, till at length the Tory rose up erect the zealot of freedom, and the Whig crawled and licked the dust at the feet of power.

It is true that, when these degenerate politicians dis- 25 cussed questions merely speculative, and, above all, when they discussed questions relating to the conduct of their own grandfathers, they still seemed to differ as their grandfathers had differed. The Whig, who, during three Parliaments, had never given one vote against

the court, and who was ready to sell his soul for the Comptroller's staff or for the Great Wardrobe, still professed to draw his political doctrines from Locke and Milton, still worshipped the memory of Pym and Hampden, and would still, on the thirtieth of January, take his glass, first to the man in the mask, and then to the man who would do it without a mask. The Tory, on the other hand, while he reviled the mild and temperate Walpole as a deadly enemy of liberty, could see nothing to reprobate in the iron tyranny of Strafford and Laud. But, whatever judgment the Whig or the Tory of that age might pronounce on transactions long past, there can be no doubt that, as respected the practical questions then pending, the Tory was a reformer, and indeed an intemperate and indiscreet reformer, while the Whig was conservative even to bigotry. We have ourselves seen similar effects produced in a neighboring country by similar causes. Who would have believed, fifteen years ago, that M. Guizot and M. Villemain would have to defend property and social order against the attacks of such enemies as M. Genoude and M. de La Roche Jaquelin ?

Thus the successors of the old Cavaliers had turned demagogues ; the successors of the old Roundheads had turned courtiers. Yet was it long before their mutual animosity began to abate ; for it is the nature of parties to retain their original enmities far more firmly than their original principles. During many years, a generation of Whigs, whom Sidney would have spurned as slaves, continue to wage deadly war with a genera-

tion of Tories whom Jeffreys would have hanged for republicans.

Through the whole reign of George the First, and through nearly half of the reign of George the Second, a Tory was regarded as an enemy of the reigning house, and was excluded from all the favors of the crown. 5 Though most of the country gentlemen were Tories, none but Whigs were created peers and baronets. Though most of the clergy were Tories, none but Whigs were appointed deans and bishops. In every county, opulent and well- 10 descended Tory squires complained that their names were left out of the commission of the peace, while men of small estate and mean birth, who were for toleration and excise, septennial parliaments and standing armies, presided at quarter sessions, and became deputy lieu- 15 tenants.

By degrees some approaches were made towards a reconciliation. While Walpole was at the head of affairs, enmity to his power induced a large and powerful body of Whigs, headed by the heir apparent of the 20 throne, to make an alliance with the Tories, and a truce even with the Jacobites. After Sir Robert's fall, the ban which lay on the Tory party was taken off. The chief places in the administration continued to be filled by Whigs, and, indeed, could scarcely have been filled 25 otherwise; for the Tory nobility and gentry, though strong in numbers and in property, had among them scarcely a single man distinguished by talents, either for business or for debate. A few of them, however, were admitted to subordinate offices; and this indulgence

produced a softening effect on the temper of the whole body. The first levee of George the Second after Walpole's resignation was a remarkable spectacle. Mingled with the constant supporters of the House of Brunswick, 5 with the Russells, the Cavendishes, and the Pelhams, appeared a crowd of faces utterly unknown to the pages and gentlemen ushers, lords of rural manors, whose ale and foxhounds were renowned in the neighborhood of the Mendip hills, or round the Wrekin, but who had 10 never crossed the threshold of the palace since the days when Oxford, with the white staff in his hand, stood behind Queen Anne.

During the eighteen years which followed this day, both factions were gradually sinking deeper and deeper into 15 repose. The apathy of the public mind is partly to be ascribed to the unjust violence with which the administration of Walpole had been assailed. In the body politic, as in the natural body, morbid languor generally succeeds morbid excitement. The people had been maddened by 20 sophistry, by calumny, by rhetoric, by stimulants applied to the national pride. In the fulness of bread, they had raved as if famine had been in the land. While enjoying such a measure of civil and religious freedom as, till then, no great society had ever known, they had cried 25 out for a Timoleon or a Brutus to stab their oppressor to the heart. They were in this frame of mind when the change of administration took place; and they soon found that there was to be no change whatever in the system of government. The natural consequences followed. To frantic zeal succeeded sullen indifference.

The cant of patriotism had not merely ceased to charm the public ear, but had become as nauseous as the cant of Puritanism after the downfall of the Rump. The hot fit was over: the cold fit had begun: and it was long before seditious arts, or even real grievances, could bring 5 back the fiery paroxysm which had run its course and reached its termination.

Two attempts were made to disturb this tranquillity. The banished heir of the House of Stuart headed a rebellion; the discontented heir of the House of Brunswick headed an opposition. Both the rebellion and the opposition came to nothing. The battle of Culloden annihilated the Jacobite party. The death of Prince Frederic dissolved the faction which, under his guidance, had feebly striven to annoy his father's government. 15 His chief followers hastened to make their peace with the ministry; and the political torpor became complete.

Five years after the death of Prince Frederic, the public mind was for a time violently excited. But this excitement had nothing to do with the old disputes 20 between Whigs and Tories. England was at war with France. The war had been feebly conducted. Minorca had been torn from us. Our fleet had retired before the white flag of the House of Bourbon. A bitter sense of humiliation, new to the proudest and bravest of nations, 25 superseded every other feeling. The cry of all the counties and great towns of the realm was for a government which would retrieve the honor of the English arms. The two most powerful men in the country were the Duke of Newcastle and Pitt. Alternate victories

and defeats had made them sensible that neither of them could stand alone. The interest of the state, and the interest of their own ambition, impelled them to coalesce. By their coalition was formed the ministry which was in
5 power when George the Third ascended the throne.

The more carefully the structure of this celebrated ministry is examined, the more shall we see reason to marvel at the skill or the luck which had combined in one harmonious whole such various and, as it seemed,
10 incompatible elements of force. The influence which is derived from stainless integrity, the influence which is derived from the vilest arts of corruption, the strength of aristocratical connection, the strength of democratical enthusiasm, all these things were for the first time
15 found together. Newcastle brought to the coalition a vast mass of power, which had descended to him from Walpole and Pelham. The public offices, the church, the courts of law, the army, the navy, the diplomatic service, swarmed with his creatures. The boroughs,
20 which long afterwards made up the memorable schedules A and B, were represented by his nominees. The great Whig families, which, during several generations, had been trained in the discipline of party warfare, and were accustomed to stand together in a firm phalanx, acknowledged him as their captain. Pitt, on the other hand,
25 had what Newcastle wanted, an eloquence which stirred the passions and charmed the imagination, a high reputation for purity, and the confidence and ardent love of millions.

The partition which the two ministers made of the

powers of government was singularly happy. Each occupied a province for which he was well qualified; and neither had any inclination to intrude himself into the province of the other. Newcastle took the treasury, the civil and ecclesiastical patronage, and the disposal of 5 that part of the secret service money which was then employed in bribing members of Parliament. Pitt was Secretary of State, with the direction of the war and of foreign affairs. Thus the filth of all the noisome and pestilential sewers of government was poured into one 10 channel. Through the other passed only what was bright and stainless. Mean and selfish politicians, pining for commissionerships, gold sticks, and ribands, flocked to the great house at the corner of Lincoln's Inn Fields. There, at every levee, appeared eighteen or twenty pair 15 of lawn sleeves; for there was not, it was said, a single Prelate who had not owed either his first elevation or some subsequent translation to Newcastle. There appeared those members of the House of Commons in whose silent votes the main strength of the government 20 lay. One wanted a place in the excise for his butler. Another came about a prebend for his son. A third whispered that he had always stood by his Grace and the Protestant succession; that his last election had been very expensive; that potwallopers had now no 25 conscience; that he had been forced to take up money on mortgage; and that he hardly knew where to turn for five hundred pounds. The Duke pressed all their hands, passed his arms round all their shoulders, patted all their backs, and sent away some with wages, and

some with promises. From this traffic Pitt stood haughtily aloof. Not only was he himself incorruptible, but he shrank from the loathsome drudgery of corrupting others. He had not, however, been twenty years in
5 Parliament, and ten in office, without discovering how the government was carried on. He was perfectly aware that bribery was practised on a large scale by his colleagues. Hating the practice, yet despairing of putting it down, and doubting whether, in those times, any
10 ministry could stand without it, he determined to be blind to it. He would see nothing, know nothing, believe nothing. People who came to talk to him about shares in lucrative contracts, or about the means of securing a Cornish corporation, were soon put out of
15 countenance by his arrogant humility. They did him too much honor. Such matters were beyond his capacity. It was true that his poor advice about expeditions and treaties was listened to with indulgence by a gracious sovereign. If the question were, who should com-
20 mand in North America, or who should be ambassador at Berlin, his colleagues would probably condescend to take his opinion. But he had not the smallest influence with the Secretary of the Treasury, and could not venture to ask even for a tide-waiter's place.

25 It may be doubted whether he did not owe as much of his popularity to his ostentatious purity as to his eloquence, or to his talents for the administration of war. It was everywhere said with delight and admiration that the great Commoner, without any advantages of birth or fortune, had, in spite of the dislike of the Court and of

the aristocracy, made himself the first man in England, and made England the first country in the world; that his name was mentioned with awe in every palace from Lisbon to Moscow; that his trophies were in all the four quarters of the globe; yet that he was still plain William Pitt, without title or riband, without pension or sinecure place. Whenever he should retire, after saving the state, he must sell his coach horses and his silver candlesticks. Widely as the taint of corruption had spread, his hands were clean. They had never received, they had never given, the price of infamy. Thus the coalition gathered to itself support from all the high and all the low parts of human nature, and was strong with the whole united strength of virtue and of Mammon. 15

Pitt and Newcastle were co-ordinate chief ministers. The subordinate places had been filled on the principle of including in the government every party and shade of party, the avowed Jacobites alone excepted, nay, every public man who, from his abilities or from his situation, seemed likely to be either useful in office or formidable in opposition. 20

The Whigs, according to what was then considered as their prescriptive right, held by far the largest share of power. The main support of the administration was what may be called the great Whig connection, a connection which, during near half a century, had generally had the chief sway in the country, and which derived an immense authority from rank, wealth, borough interest, and firm union. To this connection, of which Newcastle

was the head, belonged the houses of Cavendish, Lennox, Fitzroy, Bentinck, Mannors, Conway, Wentworth, and many others of high note.

There were two other powerful Whig connections, 5 either of which might have been a nucleus for a strong opposition. But room had been found in the government for both. They were known as the Grenvilles and the Bedfords.

The head of the Grenvilles was Richard Earl Temple. 10 His talents for administration and debate were of no high order. But his great possessions, his turbulent and unscrupulous character, his restless activity, and his skill in the most ignoble tactics of faction, made him one of the most formidable enemies that a ministry could have. 15 He was keeper of the privy seal. His brother George was treasurer of the navy. They were supposed to be on terms of close friendship with Pitt, who had married their sister, and was the most uxorious of husbands.

The Bedfords, or, as they were called by their enemies, 20 the Bloomsbury gang, professed to be led by John Duke of Bedford, but in truth led him wherever they chose, and very often led him where he never would have gone of his own accord. He had many good qualities of head and heart, and would have been certainly a respectable, 25 and possibly a distinguished man, if he had been less under the influence of his friends, or more fortunate in choosing them. Some of them were indeed, to do them justice, men of parts. But here, we are afraid, eulogy must end. Sandwich and Rigby were able debaters, pleasant boon companions, dexterous intriguers, masters

of all the arts of jobbing and electioneering, and, both in public and private life, shamelessly immoral. Weymouth had a natural eloquence, which sometimes astonished those who knew how little he owed to study. But he was indolent and dissolute, and had early impaired a fine estate with the dice box, and a fine constitution with the bottle. The wealth and power of the Duke, and the talents and audacity of some of his retainers, might have seriously annoyed the strongest ministry. But his assistance had been secured. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Rigby was his secretary; and the whole party dutifully supported the measures of the Government.

Two men had, a short time before, been thought likely to contest with Pitt the lead of the House of Commons, William Murray and Henry Fox. But Murray had been removed to the Lords, and was Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Fox was indeed still in the Commons: but means had been found to secure, if not his strenuous support, at least his silent acquiescence. He was a poor man; he was a doting father. The office of Paymaster-General during an expensive war was, in that age, perhaps the most lucrative situation in the gift of the government. This office was bestowed on Fox. The prospect of making a noble fortune in a few years, and of providing amply for his darling boy Charles, was irresistibly tempting. To hold a subordinate place, however profitable, after having led the House of Commons, and having been entrusted with the business of forming a ministry, was indeed a great descent. But a punctil-

ious sense of personal dignity was no part of the character of Henry Fox.

We have not time to enumerate all the other men of weight, who were, by some tie or other, attached to the government. We may mention Hardwicke, reputed the first lawyer of the age; Legge, reputed the first financier of the age; the acute and ready Oswald; the bold and humorous Nugent; Charles Townshend, the most brilliant and versatile of mankind; Elliot, Barrington, North, 10 Pratt. Indeed, as far as we recollect, there were in the whole House of Commons only two men of distinguished abilities who were not connected with the government, and those two men stood so low in public estimation, that the only service which they could have rendered to 15 any government would have been to oppose it. We speak of Lord George Sackville and Bubb Dodington.

Though most of the official men, and all the members of the cabinet, were reputed Whigs, the Tories were by no means excluded from employment. Pitt had gratified 20 many of them, with commands in the militia, which increased both their income and their importance in their own counties; and they were therefore in better humor than at any time since the death of Anne. Some of the party still continued to grumble over their punch at the 25 Cocoa Tree; but in the House of Commons not a single one of the malcontents durst lift his eyes above the buckle of Pitt's shoe.

Thus there was absolutely no opposition. Nay, there was no sign from which it could be guessed in what quarter opposition was likely to arise. Several years

passed during which Parliament seemed to have abdicated its chief functions. The Journals of the House of Commons, during four sessions, contain no trace of a division on a party question. The supplies, though beyond precedent great, were voted without discussion. The most 5 animated debates of that period were on road bills and inclosure bills.

The old King was content; and it mattered little whether he were content or not. It would have been impossible for him to emancipate himself from a min- 10 istry so powerful, even if he had been inclined to do so. But he had no such inclination. He had once, indeed, been strongly prejudiced against Pitt, and had repeatedly been ill used by Newcastle; but the vigor and success with which the war had been waged in Germany, and 15 the smoothness with which all public business was carried on, had produced a favorable change in the royal mind.

Such was the posture of affairs when, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1760, George the Second suddenly died, and 20 George the Third, then twenty-two years old, became King. The situation of George the Third differed widely from that of his grandfather and that of his great-grandfather. Many years had elapsed since a sovereign of England had been an object of affection to any part of his people. The 25 first two Kings of the House of Hanover had neither those hereditary rights which have often supplied the defect of merit, nor those personal qualities which have often supplied the defect of title. A prince may be popular with little virtue or capacity, if he reigns by birthright derived

from a long line of illustrious predecessors. An usurper may be popular, if his genius has saved or aggrandized the nation which he governs. Perhaps no rulers have in our time had a stronger hold on the affection of subjects
5 than the Emperor Francis, and his son-in-law the Emperor Napoleon. But imagine a ruler with no better title than Napoleon, and no better understanding than Francis. Richard Cromwell was such a ruler; and, as soon as an arm was lifted up against him, he fell without a struggle, amidst universal derision. George the First and George the Second were in a situation which bore some resemblance to that of Richard Cromwell. They were saved from the fate of Richard Cromwell by the strenuous and able exertions of the Whig party, and by the
10 general conviction that the nation had no choice but between the House of Brunswick and popery. But by no class were the Guelphs regarded with that devoted affection, of which Charles the First, Charles the Second, and James the Second, in spite of the greatest faults, and in
15 the midst of the greatest misfortunes, received innumerable proofs. Those Whigs who stood by the new dynasty so manfully with purse and sword did so on principles independent of, and indeed almost incompatible with, the sentiment of devoted loyalty. The moderate Tories
20 regarded the foreign dynasty as a great evil, which must be endured for fear of a greater evil. In the eyes of the high Tories, the Elector was the most hateful of robbers and tyrants. The crown of another was on his head; the blood of the brave and loyal was on his hands. Thus, during many years, the Kings of England were objects

of strong personal aversion to many of their subjects, and of strong personal attachment to none. They found, indeed, firm and cordial support against the pretender to their throne ; but this support was given, not at all for their sake, but for the sake of a religious and political 5 system which would have been endangered by their fall. This support, too, they were compelled to purchase by perpetually sacrificing their private inclinations to the party which had set them on the throne, and which maintained them there. 10

At the close of the reign of George the Second, the feeling of aversion with which the House of Brunswick had long been regarded by half the nation had died away ; but no feeling of affection to that house had yet sprung up. There was little, indeed, in the old King's 15 character to inspire esteem or tenderness. He was not our countryman. He never set foot on our soil till he was more than thirty years old. His speech bewrayed his foreign origin and breeding. His love for his native land, though the most amiable part of his character, was 20 not likely to endear him to his British subjects. He was never so happy as when he could exchange St. James's for Hernhausen. Year after year, our fleets were employed to convoy him to the Continent, and the interests of his kingdom were as nothing to him when 25 compared with the interests of his Electorate. As to the rest, he had neither the qualities which make dulness respectable, nor the qualities which make libertinism attractive. He had been a bad son and a worse father, an unfaithful husband and an ungraceful lover. Not

one magnanimous or humane action is recorded of him ; but many instances of meanness, and of a harshness which, but for the strong constitutional restraints under which he was placed, might have made the misery of his
5 people.

He died ; and at once a new world opened. The young King was a born Englishman. All his tastes and habits, good or bad, were English. No portion of his subjects had anything to reproach him with. Even the
10 remaining adherents of the House of Stuart could scarcely impute to him the guilt of usurpation. He was not responsible for the Revolution, for the Act of Settlement, for the suppression of the risings of 1715 and of 1745. He was innocent of the blood of Derwentwater
15 and Kilmarnock, of Balmerino and Cameron. Born fifty years after the old line had been expelled, fourth in descent and third in succession of the Hanoverian dynasty, he might plead some show of hereditary right. His age, his appearance, and all that was known of his
20 character, conciliated public favor. He was in the bloom of youth ; his person and address were pleasing. Scandal imputed to him no vice ; and flattery might, without any glaring absurdity, ascribe to him many princely virtues.

25 It is not strange, therefore, that the sentiment of loyalty, a sentiment which had lately seemed to be as much out of date as the belief in witches or the practice of pilgrimage, should, from the day of his accession, have begun to revive. The Tories in particular, who had always been inclined to King-worship, and who had

long felt with pain the want of an idol before whom they could bow themselves down, were as joyful as the priests of Apis, when, after a long interval, they had found a new calf to adore. It was soon clear that George the Third was regarded by a portion of the nation with a very different feeling from that which his two predecessors had inspired. They had been merely First Magistrates, Doges, Stadtholders; he was emphatically a King, the anointed of heaven, the breath of his people's nostrils. The years of the widowhood and mourning of the Tory party were over. Dido had kept faith long enough to the cold ashes of a former lord; she had at last found a comforter, and recognized the vestiges of the old flame. The golden days of Harley would return. The Somersets, the Lees, and the Wyndhams would again surround the throne. The latitudinarian Prelates, who had not been ashamed to correspond with Doddridge and to shake hands with Whiston, would be succeeded by divines of the temper of South and Atterbury. The devotion which had been so signally shown to the House of Stuart, which had been proof against defeats, confiscations, and proscriptions, which perfidy, oppression, ingratitude, could not weary out, was now transferred entire to the House of Brunswick. If George the Third would but accept the homage of the Cavaliers and High Churchmen, he should be to them all what Charles the First and Charles the Second had been.

The Prince, whose accession was thus hailed by a great party long estranged from his house, had received from nature a strong will, a firmness of temper to which

a harsher name might perhaps be given, and an understanding not, indeed, acute or enlarged, but such as qualified him to be a good man of business. But his character had not yet fully developed itself. He had
5 been brought up in strict seclusion. The detractors of the Princess Dowager of Wales affirmed that she had kept her children from commerce with society, in order that she might hold an undivided empire over their minds. She gave a very different explanation of her
10 conduct. She would gladly, she said, see her sons and daughters mix in the world, if they could do so without risk to their morals. But the profligacy of the people of quality alarmed her. The young men were all rakes; the young women made love, instead of waiting till it
15 was made to them. She could not bear to expose those whom she loved best to the contaminating influence of such society. The moral advantages of the system of education which formed the Duke of York, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Queen of Denmark, may perhaps
20 be questioned. George the Third was indeed no libertine; but he brought to the throne a mind only half opened, and was for some time entirely under the influence of his mother and of his Groom of the Stole, John Stuart, Earl of Bute.

25 The Earl of Bute was scarcely known, even by name, to the country which he was soon to govern. He had indeed, a short time after he came of age, been chosen to fill a vacancy which in the middle of a Parliament, had taken place among the Scotch representative peers. He had disobliged the Whig ministers by giving some silent

votes with the Tories, had consequently lost his seat at the next dissolution, and had never been re-elected. Near twenty years had elapsed since he had borne any part in politics. He had passed some of those years at his seat in one of the Hebrides, and from that retirement 5 he had emerged as one of the household of Prince Frederic. Lord Bute, excluded from public life, had found out many ways of amusing his leisure. He was a tolerable actor in private theatricals, and was particularly successful in the part of Lothario. A handsome leg, to 10 which both painters and satirists took care to give prominence, was among his chief qualifications for the stage. He devised quaint dresses for masquerades. He dabbled in geometry, mechanics, and botany. He paid some attention to antiquities and works of art, and was con- 15 sidered in his own circle as a judge of painting, architecture, and poetry. It is said that his spelling was incorrect. But though, in our time, incorrect spelling is justly considered as a proof of sordid ignorance, it would be unjust to apply the same rule to people who 20 lived a century ago. The novel of Sir Charles Grandison was published about the time at which Lord Bute made his appearance at Leicester House. Our readers may perhaps remember the account which Charlotte Grandison gives of her two lovers. One of them, a fash- 25 ionable baronet who talks French and Italian fluently, cannot write a line in his own language without some sin against orthography; the other, who is represented as a most respectable specimen of the young aristocracy, and something of a virtuoso, is described as spelling

pretty well for a lord. On the whole, the Earl of Bute might fairly be called a man of cultivated mind. He was also a man of undoubted honor. But his understanding was narrow, and his manners cold and haughty.

5 His qualifications for the part of a statesman were best described by Frederic, who often indulged in the unprincely luxury of sneering at his dependents. "Bute," said his royal highness, "you are the very man to be envoy at some small proud German court where there is

10 nothing to do."

Scandal represented the Groom of the Stole as the favored lover of the Princess Dowager. He was undoubtedly her confidential friend. The influence which the two united exercised over the mind of the King was

15 for a time unbounded. The Princess, a woman and a foreigner, was not likely to be a judicious adviser about affairs of state. The Earl could scarcely be said to have served even a novitiate in politics. His notions of government had been acquired in the society which had been

20 in the habit of assembling round Frederic at Kew and Leicester House. That society consisted principally of Tories, who had been reconciled to the House of Hanover by the civility with which the Prince had treated them, and by the hope of obtaining high preferment when he

25 should come to the throne. Their political creed was a peculiar modification of Toryism. It was the creed neither of the Tories of the seventeenth nor of the Tories of the nineteenth century. It was the creed, not of Filmer and Sacheverell, nor of Perceval and Eldon, but of the sect of which Bolingbroke may be considered

as the chief doctor. This sect deserves commendation for having pointed out and justly reprobated some great abuses which sprang up during the long domination of the Whigs. But it is far easier to point out and reprobate abuses than to propose beneficial reforms: and the reforms which Bolingbroke proposed would either have been utterly inefficient, or would have produced much more mischief than they would have removed. 5

The Revolution had saved the nation from one class of evils, but had at the same time — such is the imperfection of all things human — engendered or aggravated another class of evils which required new remedies. Liberty and property were secure from the attacks of prerogative. Conscience was respected. No government ventured to infringe any of the rights solemnly recognized by the instrument which had called William and Mary to the throne. But it cannot be denied that, under the new system, the public interests and the public morals were seriously endangered by corruption and faction. During the long struggle against the Stuarts, the chief object of the most enlightened statesmen had been to strengthen the House of Commons. The struggle was over; the victory was won; the House of Commons was supreme in the state; and all the vices which had till then been latent in the representative system were rapidly developed by prosperity and power. Scarcely had the executive government become really responsible to the House of Commons, when it began to appear that the House of Commons was not really responsible to the nation. Many of the constituent bodies were under the 10 15 20 25

absolute control of individuals ; many were notoriously at the command of the highest bidder. The debates were not published. It was very seldom known out of doors how a gentleman had voted. Thus, while the
5 ministry was accountable to the Parliament, the majority of the Parliament was accountable to nobody. In such circumstances, nothing could be more natural than that the members should insist on being paid for their votes, should form themselves into combinations for the purpose
10 of raising the price of their votes, and should at critical conjunctures extort large wages by threatening a strike. Thus the Whig ministers of George the First and George the Second were compelled to reduce corruption to a system, and to practise it on a gigantic scale.

15 If we are right as to the cause of these abuses, we can scarcely be wrong as to the remedy. The remedy was surely not to deprive the House of Commons of its weight in the state. Such a course would undoubtedly have put an end to parliamentary corruption and to
20 parliamentary factions : for, when votes cease to be of importance, they will cease to be bought ; and, when knaves can get nothing by combining, they will cease to combine. But to destroy corruption and faction by introducing despotism would have been to cure bad by
25 worse. The proper remedy evidently was, to make the House of Commons responsible to the nation ; and this was to be effected in two ways ; first, by giving publicity to parliamentary proceedings, and thus placing every member on his trial before the tribunal of public opinion ; and secondly, by so reforming the constitution of the

House that no man should be able to sit in it who had not been returned by a respectable and independent body of constituents.

Bolingbroke and Bolingbroke's disciples recommended a very different mode of treating the diseases of the state. Their doctrine was that a vigorous use of the prerogative by a patriot King would at once break all factious combinations, and supersede the pretended necessity of bribing members of Parliament. The King had only to resolve that he would be master, that he would not be held in thralldom by any set of men, that he would take for ministers any persons in whom he had confidence, without distinction of party, and that he would restrain his servants from influencing by immoral means either the constituent bodies or the representative body. This childish scheme proved that those who proposed it knew nothing of the nature of the evil with which they pretended to deal. The real cause of the prevalence of corruption and faction was that a House of Commons, not accountable to the people, was more powerful than the King. Bolingbroke's remedy could be applied only by a King more powerful than the House of Commons. How was the patriot Prince to govern in defiance of the body without whose consent he could not equip a sloop, keep a battalion under arms, send an embassy, or defray even the charges of his own household? Was he to dissolve the Parliament? And what was he likely to gain by appealing to Sudbury and Old Sarum against the venality of their representatives? Was he to send out privy seals? Was he to levy ship-

money? If so, this boasted reform must commence in all probability by civil war, and, if consummated, must be consummated by the establishment of absolute monarchy. Or was the patriot King to carry the House
5 of Commons with him in his upright designs? By what means? Interdicting himself from the use of corrupt influence, what motive was he to address to the Dodingtons and Winningtons? Was cupidity, strengthened by habit, to be laid asleep by a few fine sentences
10 about virtue and union?

Absurd as this theory was, it had many admirers, particularly among men of letters. It was now to be reduced to practice; and the result was, as any man of sagacity must have foreseen, the most piteous and ridicu-
15 lous of failures.

On the very day of the young King's accession, appeared some signs which indicated the approach of a great change. The speech which he made to his council was not submitted to the cabinet. It was drawn up by
20 Bute, and contained some expressions which might be construed into reflections on the conduct of affairs during the late reign. Pitt remonstrated, and begged that these expressions might be softened down in the printed copy; but it was not till after some hours of altercation
25 tion that Bute yielded; and, even after Bute had yielded, the King affected to hold out till the following afternoon. On the same day on which this singular contest took place, Bute was not only sworn of the privy council, but introduced into the cabinet.

Soon after this, Lord Holderness, one of the Secre-

taries of State, in pursuance of a plan concerted with the court, resigned the seals. Bute was instantly appointed to the vacant place. A general election speedily followed, and the new Secretary entered Parliament in the only way in which he then could enter it, 5 as one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland.¹

Had the ministers been firmly united it can scarcely be doubted that they would have been able to withstand the court. The parliamentary influence of the Whig aristocracy, combined with the genius, the virtue, and 10 the fame of Pitt, would have been irresistible. But there had been in the cabinet of George the Second latent jealousies and enmities, which now began to show themselves. Pitt had been estranged from his old ally Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Some of the 15 ministers were envious of Pitt's popularity. Others were, not altogether without cause, disgusted by his imperious and haughty demeanor. Others, again, were honestly opposed to some parts of his policy. They admitted that he had found the country in the depths of 20 humiliation, and had raised it to the height of glory: they admitted that he had conducted the war with energy, ability, and splendid success; but they began to hint that the drain on the resources of the state was unexampled, and that the public debt was increasing 25 with a speed at which Montague or Godolphin would have stood aghast. Some of the acquisitions made by

¹ In the reign of Anne, the House of Lords had resolved that under the 23d article of Union, no Scotch peer could be created a peer of Great Britain. This resolution was not annulled till the year 1782.

our fleets and armies were, it was acknowledged, profitable as well as honorable; but, now that George the Second was dead, a courtier might venture to ask why England was to become a party in a dispute between
5 two German powers. What was it to her whether the House of Hapsburg or the House of Brandenburg ruled in Silesia? Why were the best English regiments fighting on the Main? Why were the Prussian battalions paid with English gold? The great minister
10 seemed to think it beneath him to calculate the price of victory. As long as the Tower guns were fired, as the streets were illuminated, as French banners were carried in triumph through London, it was to him matter of indifference to what extent the public burdens were
15 augmented. Nay, he seemed to glory in the magnitude of those sacrifices which the people, fascinated by his eloquence and success, had too readily made, and would long and bitterly regret. There was no check on waste or embezzlement. Our commissaries returned from the
20 camp of Prince Ferdinand to buy boroughs, to rear palaces, to rival the magnificence of the old aristocracy of the realm. Already had we borrowed, in four years of war, more than the most skilful and economical government would pay in forty years of peace. But the
25 prospect of peace was as remote as ever. It could not be doubted that France, smarting and prostrate, would consent to fair terms of accommodation; but this was not what Pitt wanted. War had made him powerful and popular; with war, all that was brightest in his life was associated: for war his talents were peculiarly

fitted. He had at length begun to love war for its own sake, and was more disposed to quarrel with neutrals than to make peace with enemies.

Such were the views of the Duke of Bedford and of the Earl of Hardwicke; but no member of the govern- 5
ment held these opinions so strongly as George Grenville, the treasurer of the navy. George Grenville was brother-in-law of Pitt, and had always been reckoned one of Pitt's personal and political friends. But it is difficult to conceive two men of talents and integrity 10
more utterly unlike each other. Pitt, as his sister often said, knew nothing accurately except Spenser's Fairy Queen. He had never applied himself steadily to any branch of knowledge. He was a wretched financier. He never became familiar even with the rules of that 15
House of which he was the brightest ornament. He had never studied public law as a system; and was, indeed, so ignorant of the whole subject, that George the Second, on one occasion, complained bitterly that a man who had never read Vattel should presume to 20
undertake the direction of foreign affairs. But these defects were more than redeemed by high and rare gifts, by a strange power of inspiring great masses of men with confidence and affection, by an eloquence which not only delighted the ear, but stirred the blood, and 25
brought tears into the eyes, by originality in devising plans, by vigor in executing them. Grenville, on the other hand, was by nature and habit a man of details. He had been bred a lawyer; and he had brought the industry and acuteness of the Temple into official and

parliamentary life. He was supposed to be intimately acquainted with the whole fiscal system of the country. He had paid especial attention to the law of Parliament, and was so learned in all things relating to the privileges and orders of the House of Commons that those who loved him least pronounced him the only person competent to succeed Onslow in the Chair. His speeches were generally instructive, and sometimes, from the gravity and earnestness with which he spoke, even impressive, but never brilliant, and generally tedious. Indeed, even when he was at the head of affairs, he sometimes found it difficult to obtain the ear of the House. In disposition as well as in intellect, he differed widely from his brother-in-law. Pitt was utterly regardless of money. He would scarcely stretch out his hand to take it; and, when it came, he threw it away with childish profusion. Grenville, though strictly upright, was grasping and parsimonious. Pitt was a man of excitable nerves, sanguine in hope, easily elated by success and popularity, keenly sensible of injury, but prompt to forgive; Grenville's character was stern, melancholy, and pertinacious. Nothing was more remarkable in him than his inclination always to look on the dark side of things. He was the raven of the House of Commons, always croaking defeat in the midst of triumphs, and bankruptcy with an overflowing exchequer. Burke, with general applause, compared him, in a time of quiet and plenty, to the evil spirit whom Ovid described looking down on the stately temples and wealthy haven of Athens, and scarce able to refrain

from weeping because she could find nothing at which to weep. Such a man was not likely to be popular. But to unpopularity Grenville opposed a dogged determination, which sometimes forced even those who hated him to respect him. 5

It was natural that Pitt and Grenville being such as they were, should take very different views of the situation of affairs. Pitt could see nothing but the trophies; Grenville could see nothing but the bill. Pitt boasted that England was victorious at once in America, in India, 10 and in Germany, the umpire of the Continent, the mistress of the sea. Grenville cast up the subsidies, sighed over the army extraordinaries, and groaned in spirit to think that the nation had borrowed eight millions in one year. 15

With a ministry thus divided it was not difficult for Bute to deal. Legge was the first who fell. He had given offence to the young King in the late reign, by refusing to support a creature of Bute at a Hampshire election. He was now not only turned out, but in the 20 closet, when he delivered up his seal of office, was treated with gross incivility.

Pitt, who did not love Legge, saw this event with indifference. But the danger was now fast approaching himself. Charles the Third of Spain had early conceived 25 a deadly hatred of England. Twenty years before, when he was King of the Two Sicilies, he had been eager to join the coalition against Maria Theresa. But an English fleet had suddenly appeared in the Bay of Naples. An English captain had landed, had proceeded to the palace,

had laid a watch on the table, and had told his majesty that, within an hour, a treaty of neutrality must be signed, or a bombardment would commence. The treaty was signed; the squadron sailed out of the bay twenty-
5 four hours after it had sailed in; and from that day the ruling passion of the humbled Prince was aversion to the English name. He was at length in a situation in which he might hope to gratify that passion. He had recently become King of Spain and the Indies. He
10 saw, with envy and apprehension, the triumphs of our navy, and the rapid extension of our colonial Empire. He was a Bourbon, and sympathized with the distress of the house from which he sprang. He was a Spaniard; and no Spaniard could bear to see Gibraltar and Minorca
15 in the possession of a foreign power. Impelled by such feelings, Charles concluded a secret treaty with France. By this treaty, known as the Family Compact, the two powers bound themselves, not in express words, but by the clearest implication, to make war on England in com-
20 mon. Spain postponed the declaration of hostilities only till her fleet, laden with the treasures of America, should have arrived.

The existence of the treaty could not be kept a secret from Pitt. He acted as a man of his capacity and energy
25 might be expected to act. He at once proposed to declare war against Spain, and to intercept the American fleet. He had determined, it is said, to attack without delay both Havanna and the Philippines.

His wise and resolute counsel was rejected. Bute was foremost in opposing it, and was supported by almost

the whole cabinet. Some of the ministers doubted, or affected to doubt, the correctness of Pitt's intelligence; some shrank from the responsibility of advising a course so bold and decided as that which he proposed; some were weary of his ascendancy, and were glad to be rid of him on any pretext. One only of his colleagues agreed with him, his brother-in-law, Earl Temple. 5

Pitt and Temple resigned their offices. To Pitt the young King behaved at parting in the most gracious manner. Pitt who, proud and fiery every where else, 10 was always meek and humble in the closet, was moved even to tears. The King and the favorite urged him to accept some substantial mark of royal gratitude. Would he like to be appointed governor of Canada? A salary of five thousand pounds a year should be annexed to the 15 office. Residence would not be required. It was true that the governor of Canada, as the law then stood, could not be a member of the House of Commons. But a bill should be brought in, authorizing Pitt to hold his government together with a seat in Parliament, and in the 20 preamble should be set forth his claims to the gratitude of his country. Pitt answered, with all delicacy, that his anxieties were rather for his wife and family than for himself, and that nothing would be so acceptable to him as a mark of royal goodness which might be beneficial to those who were dearest to him. The hint was 25 taken. The same Gazette which announced the retirement of the Secretary of State announced also that, in consideration of his great public services, his wife had been created a peeress in her own right, and that a pen-

sion of three thousand pounds a year, for three lives, had been bestowed on himself. It was doubtless thought that the rewards and honors conferred on the great minister would have a conciliatory effect on the public mind.

5 Perhaps, too, it was thought that his popularity, which had partly arisen from the contempt which he had always shown for money, would be damaged by a pension; and, indeed, a crowd of libels instantly appeared, in which he was accused of having sold his country. Many of his

10 true friends thought that he would have best consulted the dignity of his character by refusing to accept any pecuniary reward from the court. Nevertheless, the general opinion of his talents, virtues, and services, remained unaltered. Addresses were presented to him from sev-

15 eral large towns. London showed its admiration and affection in a still more marked manner. Soon after his resignation came the Lord Mayor's day. The King and the royal family dined at Guildhall. Pitt was one of the guests. The young Sovereign, seated by his bride in his

20 state coach, received a remarkable lesson. He was scarcely noticed. All eyes were fixed on the fallen minister; all acclamations directed to him. The streets, the balconies, the chimney tops, burst into a roar of delight as his chariot passed by. The ladies waved their hand-

25 kerchiefs from the windows. The common people clung to the wheels, shook hands with the footmen, and even kissed the horses. Cries of "No Bute!" "No Newcastle salmon!" were mingled with the shouts of "Pitt forever!" When Pitt entered Guildhall, he was welcomed by loud huzzas and clapping of hands, in which the very

magistrates of the city joined. Lord Bute, in the mean time, was hooted and pelted through Cheapside, and would, it was thought, have been in some danger, if he had not taken the precaution of surrounding his carriage with a strong body guard of boxers. Many persons blamed the 5 conduct of Pitt on this occasion as disrespectful to the King. Indeed, Pitt himself afterwards owned that he had done wrong. He was led into this error, as he was afterwards led into more serious errors, by the influence of his turbulent and mischievous brother-in-law, Temple. 10

The events which immediately followed Pitt's retirement raised his fame higher than ever. War with Spain proved to be, as he had predicted, inevitable. News came from the West Indies that Martinique had been taken by an expedition which he had sent forth. Havanna 15 fell; and it was known that he had planned an attack on Havanna. Manilla capitulated; and it was believed that he had meditated a blow against Manilla. The American fleet, which he had proposed to intercept, had unloaded an immense cargo of bullion in the haven of Cadiz, before 20 Bute could be convinced that the Court of Madrid really entertained hostile intentions.

The session of Parliament which followed Pitt's retirement passed over without any violent storm. Lord Bute took on himself the most prominent part in the House 25 of Lords. He had become Secretary of State, and indeed prime minister, without having once opened his lips in public, except as an actor. There was, therefore, no small curiosity to know how he would acquit himself. Members of the House of Commons crowded the bar of

the Lords, and covered the steps of the throne. It was generally expected that the orator would break down; but his most malicious hearers were forced to own that he had made a better figure than they expected. They, 5 indeed, ridiculed his action as theatrical, and his style as tumid. They were especially amused by the long pauses which, not from hesitation, but from affectation, he made at all the emphatic words, and Charles Townshend cried out, "Minute guns!" The general opinion 10 however was, that, if Bute had been early practised in debate, he might have become an impressive speaker.

In the Commons, George Grenville had been entrusted with the lead. The task was not, as yet, a very difficult one: for Pitt did not think fit to raise the standard of 15 opposition. His speeches at this time were distinguished, not only by that eloquence in which he excelled all his rivals, but also by a temperance and a modesty which had too often been wanting to his character. When war was declared against Spain, he justly laid claim to the 20 merit of having foreseen what had at length become manifest to all, but he carefully abstained from arrogant and acrimonious expressions; and this abstinence was the more honorable to him, because his temper, never very placid, was now severely tried, both by gout and 25 by calumny. The courtiers had adopted a mode of warfare, which was soon turned with far more formidable effect against themselves. Half the inhabitants of the Grub Street garrets paid their milk scores and got their shirts out of pawn, by abusing Pitt. His German war, his subsidies, his pension, his wife's peerage, were shin

of beef and gin, blankets and baskets of small coal, to the starving poetasters of the Fleet. Even in the House of Commons, he was, on one occasion during this session, assailed with an insolence and malice which called forth the indignation of men of all parties; but he endured 5 the outrage with majestic patience. In his younger days he had been but too prompt to retaliate on those who attacked him; but now, conscious of his great services, and of the space which he filled in the eyes of all mankind, he would not stoop to personal squabbles. 10 "This is no season," he said, in the debate on the Spanish war, "for altercation and recrimination. A day has arrived when every Englishman should stand forth for his country. Arm the whole; be one people; forget everything but the public. I set you the example. 15 Harassed by slanderers, sinking under pain and disease, for the public I forget both my wrongs and my infirmities!" On a general review of his life, we are inclined to think that his genius and virtue never shone with so pure an effulgence as during the session of 1762. 20

The session drew towards the close; and Bute, emboldened by the acquiescence of the Houses, resolved to strike another great blow, and to become first minister in name as well as in reality. That coalition, which a few months before had seemed all powerful, had been 25 dissolved. The retreat of Pitt had deprived the government of popularity. Newcastle had exulted in the fall of the illustrious colleague whom he envied and dreaded, and had not foreseen that his own doom was at hand. He still tried to flatter himself that he was at the head

of the government; but insults heaped on insults at length undeceived him. Places which had always been considered as in his gift, were bestowed without any reference to him. His expostulations only called forth
5 significant hints that it was time for him to retire. One day he pressed on Bute the claims of a Whig Prelate to the archbishopric of York. "If your grace thinks so highly of him," answered Bute, "I wonder that you did not promote him when you had the power." Still the
10 old man clung with a desperate grasp to the wreck. Seldom, indeed, have Christian meekness and Christian humility equalled the meekness and humility of his patient and abject ambition. At length he was forced to understand that all was over. He quitted that Court
15 where he had held high office during forty-five years, and hid his shame and regret among the cedars of Claremont. Bute became first lord of the treasury.

The favorite had undoubtedly committed a great error. It is impossible to imagine a tool better suited
20 to his purposes than that which he thus threw away, or rather put into the hands of his enemies. If Newcastle had been suffered to play at being first minister, Bute might securely and quietly have enjoyed the substance of power. The gradual introduction of Tories into all
25 the departments of the government might have been effected without any violent clamor, if the chief of the great Whig connection had been ostensibly at the head of affairs. This was strongly represented to Bute by Lord Mansfield, a man who may justly be called the father of modern Toryism, of Toryism modified to suit

an order of things under which the House of Commons is the most powerful body in the state. The theories which had dazzled Bute could not impose on the fine intellect of Mansfield. The temerity with which Bute provoked the hostility of powerful and deeply rooted 5 interests, was displeasing to Mansfield's cold and timid nature. Expostulation, however, was vain. Bute was impatient of advice, drunk with success, eager to be, in show as well as in reality, the head of the government. He had engaged in an undertaking in which a screen 10 was absolutely necessary to his success, and even to his safety. He found an excellent screen ready in the very place where it was most needed; and he rudely pushed it away.

And now the new system of government came into 15 full operation. For the first time since the accession of the House of Hanover, the Tory party was in the ascendant. The prime minister himself was a Tory. Lord Egremont, who had succeeded Pitt as Secretary of State, was a Tory, and the son of a Tory. Sir Francis Dash- 20 wood, a man of slender parts, of small experience, and of notoriously immoral character, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, for no reason that could be imagined, except that he was a Tory, and had been a Jacobite. The royal household was filled with men whose favorite 25 toast, a few years before, had been the King over the water. The relative position of the two great national seats of learning was suddenly changed. The University of Oxford had long been the chief seat of disaffection. In troubled times, the High Street had been lined

with bayonets; the colleges had been searched by the King's messengers. Grave doctors were in the habit of talking very Ciceronian treason in the theatre; and the undergraduates drank bumpers to Jacobite toasts, and
5 chanted Jacobite airs. Of four successive Chancellors of the University, one had notoriously been in the Pretender's service; the other three were fully believed to be in secret correspondence with the exiled family. Cambridge had therefore been especially favored by the
10 Hanoverian Princes, and had shown herself grateful for their patronage. George the First had enriched her library; George the Second had contributed munificently to her Senate House. Bishoprics and deaneries were showered on her children. Her Chancellor was New-
15 castle, the chief of the Whig aristocracy; her High Steward was Hardwicke, the Whig head of the law. Both her burgesses had held office under the Whig ministry. Times had now changed. The University of Cambridge was received at St. James's with comparative
20 coldness. The answers to the addresses of Oxford were all graciousness and warmth.

The watchwords of the new government were prerogative and purity. The sovereign was no longer to be a puppet in the hands of any subject, or of any combina-
25 tion of subjects. George the Third would not be forced to take ministers whom he disliked, as his grandfather had been forced to take Pitt. George the Third would not be forced to part with any whom he delighted to honor, as his grandfather had been forced to part with Carteret. At the same time, the system of bribery

which had grown up during the late reigns was to cease. It was ostentatiously proclaimed that, since the accession of the young King, neither constituents nor representatives had been bought with the secret service money. To free Britain from corruption and oligarchical cabals, 5 to detach her from continental connections, to bring the bloody and expensive war with France and Spain to a close, such were the specious objects which Bute professed to procure.

Some of these objects he attained. England withdrew, 10 at the cost of a deep stain on her faith, from her German connections. The war with France and Spain was terminated by a peace, honorable indeed and advantageous to our country, yet less honorable and less advantageous than might have been expected from a long and almost 15 unbroken series of victories, by land and sea, in every part of the world. But the only effect of Bute's domestic administration was to make faction wilder, and corruption fouler than ever.

The mutual animosity of the Whig and Tory parties 20 had begun to languish after the fall of Walpole, and had seemed to be almost extinct at the close of the reign of George the Second. It now revived in all its force. Many Whigs, it is true, were still in office. The Duke of Bedford had signed the treaty with France. The 25 Duke of Devonshire, though much out of humor, still continued to be Lord Chamberlain. Grenville, who led the House of Commons, and Fox, who still enjoyed in silence the immense gains of the Pay Office, had always been regarded as strong Whigs. But the bulk of the

party throughout the country regarded the new minister with abhorrence. There was, indeed, no want of popular themes for invective against his character. He was a favorite ; and favorites have always been odious in this
5 country. No mere favorite had been at the head of the government since the dagger of Felton had reached the heart of the Duke of Buckingham. After that event the most arbitrary and the most frivolous of the Stuarts had felt the necessity of confiding the chief direction of af-
10 fairs to men who had given some proof of parliamentary or official talent Strafford, Falkland, Clarendon, Clifford, Shaftesbury, Lauderdale, Danby, Temple, Halifax, Rochester, Sunderland, whatever their faults might be, were all men of acknowledged ability. They did not owe
15 their eminence merely to the favor of the sovereign. On the contrary, they owed the favor of the sovereign to their eminence. Most of them, indeed, had first attracted the notice of the court by the capacity and vigor which they had shown in opposition. The Revolution seemed
20 to have forever secured the state against the domination of a Carr or a Villiers. Now, however, the personal regard of the King had at once raised a man who had seen nothing of public business, who had never opened his lips in Parliament, over the heads of a crowd of eminent
25 orators, financiers, diplomatists. From a private gentleman, this fortunate minion had at once been turned into a Secretary of State. He had made his maiden speech when at the head of the administration. The vulgar resorted to a simple explanation of the phenomenon, and the coarsest ribaldry against the Princess Mother was scrawled on every wall and sung in every alley.

This was not all. The spirit of party, roused by impolitic provocation from its long sleep, roused in turn a still fiercer and more malignant Fury, the spirit of national animosity. The grudge of Whig against Tory was mingled with the grudge of Englishman against Scot. 5 The two sections of the great British people had not yet been indissolubly blended together. The events of 1715 and of 1745 had left painful and enduring traces. The tradesmen of Cornhill had been in dread of seeing their tills and warehouses plundered by barelegged mountain- 10 eers from the Grampians. They still recollected that Black Friday, when the news came that the rebels were at Derby, when all the shops in the city were closed, and when the Bank of England began to pay in sixpences. The Scots, on the other hand, remembered with natural 15 resentment, the severity with which the insurgents had been chastised, the military outrages, the humiliating laws, the heads fixed on Temple Bar, the fires and quartering blocks on Kennington Common. The favorite did not suffer the English to forget from what part of the 20 island he came. The cry of all the south was that the public offices, the army, the navy, were filled with high-cheeked Drummonds and Erskines, Macdonalds and Macgillivrays, who could not talk a Christian tongue, and some of whom had but lately begun to wear Christian 25 breeches. All the old jokes on hills without trees, girls without stockings, men eating the food of horses, pails emptied from the fourteenth story, were pointed against these lucky adventurers. To the honor of the Scots it must be said, that their prudence and their pride re-

strained them from retaliation. Like the princess in the Arabian tale, they stopped their ears tight, and, unmoved by the shrillest notes of abuse, walked on, without once looking round, straight towards the Golden Fountain.

5 Bute, who had always been considered as a man of taste and reading, affected, from the moment of his elevation, the character of a Mæcenas. If he expected to conciliate the public by encouraging literature and art, he was grievously mistaken. Indeed, none of the objects of his
10 munificence, with the single exception of Johnson, can be said to have been well selected; and the public, not unnaturally, ascribed the selection of Johnson rather to the Doctor's political prejudices than to his literary merits: for a wretched scribbler named Shebbeare, who
15 had nothing in common with Johnson except violent Jacobitism, and who had stood in the pillory for a libel on the Revolution, was honored with a mark of royal approbation, similar to that which was bestowed on the author of the English Dictionary, and of the Vanity of Human
20 Wishes. It was remarked that Adam, a Scotchman, was the court architect, and that Ramsay, a Scotchman, was the court painter, and was preferred to Reynolds. Mallet, a Scotchman, of no high literary fame, and of infamous character, partook largely of the liberality of the govern-
25 ment. John Home, a Scotchman, was rewarded for the tragedy of Douglas, both with a pension and with a sinecure place. But, when the author of the Bard, and of the Elegy in a Country Churchyard, ventured to ask for a Professorship, the emoluments of which he much needed, and for the duties of which he was, in many respects,

better qualified than any man living, he was refused; and the post was bestowed on the pedagogue under whose care the favorite's son-in-law, Sir James Lowther, had made such signal proficiency in the graces and in the humane virtues.

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Thus, the first lord of the treasury was detested by many as a Tory, by many as a favorite, and by many as a Scot. All the hatred which flowed from these various sources soon mingled, and was directed in one torrent of obloquy against the treaty of peace. The Duke of Bedford, who had negotiated that treaty, was hooted through the streets. Bute was attacked in his chair, and was with difficulty rescued by a troop of the guards. He could hardly walk the streets in safety without disguising himself. A gentleman who died not many years ago used to say that he once recognized the favorite Earl in the piazza of Covent Garden, muffled in a large coat, and with a hat and wig drawn down over his brows. His lordship's established type with the mob was a jack boot, a wretched pun on his Christian name and title. A jack boot, generally accompanied by a petticoat, was sometimes fastened on a gallows, and sometimes committed to the flames. Libels on the court, exceeding in audacity and rancor any that had been published for many years, now appeared daily both in prose and verse. Wilkes, with lively insolence, compared the mother of George the Third to the mother of Edward the Third, and the Scotch minister to the gentle Mortimer. Churchill, with all the energy of hatred, deplored the fate of his country, invaded by a new race of savages, more cruel and raven-

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ous than the Picts or the Danes, the poor, proud children of Leprosy and Hunger. It is a slight circumstance, but deserves to be recorded, that in this year pamphleteers first ventured to print at length the names of the great men whom they lampooned. George the Second had always been the K——. His ministers had been Sir R—— W——, Mr. P——, and the Duke of N——. But the libellers of George the Third, of the Princess Mother, and of Lord Bute did not give quarter to a single vowel.

10 It was supposed that Lord Temple secretly encouraged the most scurrilous assailants of the government. In truth, those who knew his habits tracked him as men track a mole. It was his nature to grub underground. Whenever a heap of dirt was flung up, it might well be

15 suspected that he was at work in some foul crooked labyrinth below. Pitt turned away from the filthy work of opposition, with the same scorn with which he had turned away from the filthy work of government. He had the magnanimity to proclaim everywhere the

20 disgust which he felt at the insults offered by his own adherents to the Scottish nation, and missed no opportunity of extolling the courage and fidelity which the Highland regiments had displayed through the whole war. But, though he disdained to use any but lawful

25 and honorable weapons, it was well known that his fair blows were likely to be far more formidable than the privy thrusts of his brother-in-law's stiletto.

Bute's heart began to fail him. The Houses were about to meet. The treaty would instantly be the subject of discussion. It was probable that Pitt, the great

Whig connection, and the multitude, would all be on the same side. The favorite had professed to hold in abhorrence those means by which preceding ministers had kept the House of Commons in good humor. He now began to think that he had been too scrupulous. 5 His Utopian visions were at an end. It was necessary, not only to bribe, but to bribe more shamelessly and flagitiously than his predecessors, in order to make up for lost time. A majority must be secured, no matter by what means. Could Grenville do this? Would he 10 do it? His firmness and ability had not yet been tried in any perilous crisis. He had been generally regarded as a humble follower of his brother Temple, and of his brother-in-law Pitt, and was supposed, though with little reason, to be still favorably inclined towards them. 15 Other aid must be called in. And where was other aid to be found?

There was one man, whose sharp and manly logic had often in debate been found a match for the lofty and impassioned rhetoric of Pitt, whose talents for jobbing 20 were not inferior to his talents for debate, whose dauntless spirit shrank from no difficulty or danger, and who was as little troubled with scruples as with fears. Henry Fox, or nobody, could weather the storm which was about to burst. Yet was he a person to whom the court, 25 even in that extremity, was unwilling to have recourse. He had always been regarded as a Whig of the Whigs. He had been the friend and disciple of Walpole. He had long been connected by close ties with William Duke of Cumberland. By the Tories he was more hated

than any man living. So strong was their aversion to him that when, in the late reign, he had attempted to form a party against the Duke of Newcastle, they had thrown all their weight into Newcastle's scale. By 5 the Scots, Fox was abhorred as the confidential friend of the conqueror of Culloden. He was, on personal grounds, most obnoxious to the Princess Mother. For he had, immediately after her husband's death, advised the late King to take the education of her son, the heir 10 apparent, entirely out of her hands. He had recently given, if possible, still deeper offence; for he had indulged, not without some ground, the ambitious hope that his beautiful sister-in-law, the Lady Sarah Lennox, might be queen of England. It had been observed that 15 the King at one time rode every morning by the grounds of Holland House, and that, on such occasions, Lady Sarah, dressed like a shepherdess at a masquerade, was making hay close to the road, which was then separated by no wall from the lawn. On account of the part 20 which Fox had taken in this singular love affair, he was the only member of the Privy Council who was not summoned to the meeting at which his Majesty announced his intended marriage with the Princess of Mecklenburg. Of all the statesmen of the age, there- 25 fore, it seemed that Fox was the last with whom Bute, the Tory, the Scot, the favorite of the Princess Mother, could, under any circumstances, act. Yet to Fox Bute was now compelled to apply.

Fox had many noble and amiable qualities, which in private life shone forth in full lustre, and made him

dear to his children, to his dependents, and to his friends; but as a public man he had no title to esteem. In him the vices which were common to the whole school of Walpole appeared, not perhaps in their worst, but certainly in their most prominent form; for his 5 parliamentary and official talents made all his faults conspicuous. His courage, his vehement temper, his contempt for appearances, led him to display much that others, quite as unscrupulous as himself, covered with a decent veil. He was the most unpopular of the states- 10 men of his time, not because he sinned more than many of them, but because he canted less.

He felt his unpopularity; but he felt it after the fashion of strong minds. He became, not cautious, but reckless, and faced the rage of the whole nation with a 15 scowl of inflexible defiance. He was born with a sweet and generous temper; but he had been goaded and baited into a savageness which was not natural to him, and which amazed and shocked those who knew him best. Such was the man to whom Bute, in extreme 20 need, applied for succor.

That succor Fox was not unwilling to afford. Though by no means of an envious temper, he had undoubtedly contemplated the success and popularity of Pitt with bitter mortification. He thought himself Pitt's match 25 as a debater, and Pitt's superior as a man of business. They had long been regarded as well-paired rivals. They had started fair in the career of ambition. They had long run side by side. At length Fox had taken the lead, and Pitt had fallen behind. Then had come a

sudden turn of fortune, like that in Virgil's foot-race. Fox had stumbled in the mire, and had not only been defeated, but befouled. Pitt had reached the goal, and received the prize. The emoluments of the Pay Office
5 might induce the defeated statesman to submit in silence to the ascendancy of his competitor, but could not satisfy a mind conscious of great powers, and sore from great vexations. As soon, therefore, as a party arose adverse to the war and to the supremacy of the
10 great war minister, the hopes of Fox began to revive. His feuds with the Princess Mother, with the Scots, with the Tories, he was ready to forget, if, by the help of his old enemies, he could now regain the importance which he had lost, and confront Pitt on equal
15 terms.

The alliance was, therefore, soon concluded. Fox was assured that, if he would pilot the government out of its embarrassing situation, he should be rewarded with a peerage, of which he had long been desirous.
20 He undertook on his side to obtain, by fair or foul means, a vote in favor of the peace. In consequence of this arrangement he became leader of the House of Commons; and Grenville, stifling his vexation as well as he could, sullenly acquiesced in the change.

25 Fox had expected that his influence would secure to the court the cordial support of some eminent Whigs who were his personal friends, particularly of the Duke of Cumberland and of the Duke of Devonshire. He was disappointed, and soon found that, in addition to all his other difficulties, he must reckon on the opposi-

tion of the ablest prince of the blood, and of the great house of Cavendish.

But he had pledged himself to win the battle ; and he was not a man to go back. It was no time for squeamishness. But he was made to comprehend that the ministry 5 could be saved only by practising the tactics of Walpole to an extent of which Walpole himself would have stared. The Pay Office was turned into a mart for votes. Hundreds of members were closeted there with Fox, and, as there is too much reason to believe, departed carrying with them the wages of infamy. It was affirmed by persons who had the best opportunities of obtaining information, that twenty-five thousand pounds were thus paid away in a single morning. The lowest bribe given, it was said, was a bank-note for two 15 hundred pounds.

Intimidation was joined with corruption. All ranks, from the highest to the lowest, were to be taught that the King would be obeyed. The Lords Lieutenants of several counties were dismissed. The Duke of Devon- 20 shire was especially singled out as the victim by whose fate the magnates of England were to take warning. His wealth, rank, and influence, his stainless private character, and the constant attachment of his family to the House of Hanover did not secure him from gross 25 personal indignity. It was known that he disapproved of the course which the government had taken ; and it was accordingly determined to humble the Prince of the Whigs as he had been nicknamed by the Princess Mother. He went to the palace to pay his duty. "Tell him," said

the King to a page, "that I will not see him." The page hesitated. "Go to him," said the King, "and tell him those very words." The message was delivered. The Duke tore off his gold key, and went away boiling with
5 anger. His relations who were in office instantly resigned. A few days later, the King called for the list of Privy Councillors, and with his own hand struck out the Duke's name.

In this step there was at least courage, though little
10 wisdom or good nature. But, as nothing was too high for the revenge of the court, so also was nothing too low. A persecution, such as had never been known before, and has never been known since, raged in every public department. Great numbers of humble and la-
15 borious clerks were deprived of their bread, not because they had neglected their duties, not because they had taken an active part against the ministry, but merely because they had owed their situations to the recommendation of some nobleman or gentleman who was against
20 the peace. The proscription extended to tidewaiters, to gaugers, to doorkeepers. One poor man to whom a pension had been given for his gallantry in a fight with smugglers, was deprived of it because he had been befriended by the Duke of Grafton. An aged widow, who,
25 on account of her husband's services in the navy, had, many years before, been made housekeeper to a public office, was dismissed from her situation, because it was imagined that she was distantly connected by marriage with the Cavendish family. The public clamor, as may well be supposed, grew daily louder and louder. But

the louder it grew, the more resolutely did Fox go on with the work which he had begun. His old friends could not conceive what had possessed him. "I could forgive," said the Duke of Cumberland, "Fox's political vagaries; but I am quite confounded by his inhumanity. 5 Surely he used to be the best-natured of men."

At last Fox went so far as to take a legal opinion on the question, whether the patents granted by George the Second were binding on George the Third. It is said that, if his colleagues had not flinched, he would at 10 once have turned out the Tellers of the Exchequer and Justices in Eyre.

Meanwhile the Parliament met. The ministers, more hated by the people than ever, were secure of a majority, and they had also reason to hope that they would have 15 the advantage in the debates as well as in the divisions; for Pitt was confined to his chamber by a severe attack of gout. His friends moved to defer the consideration of the treaty till he should be able to attend: but the motion was rejected. The great day arrived. The dis- 20 cussion had lasted some time, when a loud huzza was heard in Palace Yard. The noise came nearer and nearer, up the stairs, through the lobby. The door opened, and from the midst of a shouting multitude came forth Pitt, borne in the arms of his attendants. His 25 face was thin and ghastly, his limbs swathed in flannel, his crutch in his hand. The bearers set him down within the bar. His friends instantly surrounded him, and with their help he crawled to his seat near the table. In this condition he spoke three hours and a

half against the peace. During that time he was repeatedly forced to sit down and to use cordials. It may well be supposed that his voice was faint, and that his action was languid, and that his speech, though occasionally brilliant and impressive, was feeble when compared with his best oratorical performances. But those who remembered what he had done, and who saw what he suffered, listened to him with emotions stronger than any that mere eloquence can produce. He was unable to stay for the division, and was carried away from the House amidst shouts as loud as those which had announced his arrival.

A large majority approved the peace. The exultation of the court was boundless. "Now," exclaimed the Princess Mother, "my son is really King." The young sovereign spoke of himself as freed from the bondage in which his grandfather had been held. On one point, it was announced, his mind was unalterably made up. Under no circumstances whatever should those Whig grandees, who had enslaved his predecessors, and endeavored to enslave himself, be restored to power.

This vaunting was premature. The real strength of the favorite was by no means proportioned to the number of votes which he had, on one particular division, been able to command. He was soon again in difficulties. The most important part of his budget was a tax on cider. This measure was opposed, not only by those who were generally hostile to his administration, but also by many of his supporters. The name of excise had always been hateful to the Tories. One of the chief

crimes of Walpole, in their eyes, had been his partiality for this mode of raising money. The Tory Johnson had in his Dictionary given so scurrilous a definition of the word Excise, that the Commissioners of Excise had seriously thought of prosecuting him. The counties 5 which the new impost particularly affected had always been Tory counties. It was the boast of John Philips, the poet of the English vintage, that the Cider-land had ever been faithful to the throne, and that all the pruning-hooks of her thousand orchards had been beaten into 10 swords for the service of the ill-fated Stuarts. The effect of Bute's fiscal scheme was to produce an union between the gentry and yeomanry of the Cider-land and the Whigs of the capital. Herefordshire and Worcestershire were in a flame. The city of London, though 15 not so directly interested, was, if possible, still more excited. The debates on this question irreparably damaged the government. Dashwood's financial statement had been confused and absurd beyond belief, and had been received by the House with roars of laughter. He 20 had sense enough to be conscious of his unfitness for the high situation which he held, and exclaimed in a comical fit of despair, "What shall I do? The boys will point at me in the street, and cry, 'There goes the worst Chancellor of the Exchequer that ever was.'" George 25 Grenville came to the rescue, and spoke strongly on his favorite theme, the profusion with which the late war had been carried on. That profusion, he said, had made taxes necessary. He called on the gentlemen opposite to him to say where they would have a tax laid, and

dwelt on this topic with his usual prolixity. "Let them tell me where," he repeated in a monotonous and somewhat fretful tone. "I say, sir, let them tell me where. I repeat it, sir; I am entitled to say to them, Tell me
5 where." Unluckily for him, Pitt had come down to the House that night, and had been bitterly provoked by the reflections thrown on the war. He revenged himself by murmuring, in a whine resembling Grenville's, a line of a well known song, "Gentle Shepherd, tell me
10 where." "If," cried Grenville, "gentlemen are to be treated in this way" — Pitt, as was his fashion, when he meant to mark extreme contempt, rose deliberately, made his bow, and walked out of the House, leaving his brother-in-law in convulsions of rage, and everybody
15 else in convulsions of laughter. It was long before Grenville lost the nickname of the Gentle Shepherd.

But the ministry had vexations still more serious to endure. The hatred which the Tories and Scots bore to Fox was implacable. In a moment of extreme peril,
20 they had consented to put themselves under his guidance. But the aversion with which they regarded him broke forth as soon as the crisis seemed to be over. Some of them attacked him about the accounts of the Pay Office. Some of them rudely interrupted him when
25 speaking, by laughter and ironical cheers. He was naturally desirous to escape from so disagreeable a situation, and demanded the peerage which had been promised as the reward of his services.

It was clear that there must be some change in the composition of the ministry. But scarcely any, even of

those who, from their situation, might be supposed to be in all the secrets of the government, anticipated what really took place. To the amazement of the Parliament and the nation, it was suddenly announced that Bute had resigned.

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Twenty different explanations of this strange step were suggested. Some attributed it to profound design, and some to sudden panic. Some said that the lampoons of the opposition had driven the Earl from the field ; some that he had taken office only in order to bring the war to a close, and had always meant to retire when that object had been accomplished. He publicly assigned ill health as his reason for quitting business, and privately complained that he was not cordially seconded by his colleagues, and that Lord Mansfield, in particular, whom he had himself brought into the cabinet, gave him no support in the House of Peers. Mansfield was, indeed, far too sagacious not to perceive that Bute's situation was one of great peril, and far too timorous to thrust himself into peril for the sake of another. The probability, however, is that Bute's conduct on this occasion, like the conduct of most men on most occasions, was determined by mixed motives. We suspect that he was sick of office ; for this is a feeling much more common among ministers than persons who see public life from a distance are disposed to believe ; and nothing could be more natural than that this feeling should take possession of the mind of Bute. In general, a statesman climbs by slow degrees. Many laborious years elapse before he reaches the topmost pinnacle of preferment.

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In the earlier part of his career, therefore, he is constantly lured on by seeing something above him. During his ascent he gradually becomes inured to the annoyances which belong to a life of ambition. By the 5 time that he has attained the highest point, he has become patient of labor and callous to abuse. He is kept constant to his vocation, in spite of all its discomforts, at first by hope, and at last by habit. It was not so with Bute. His whole public life lasted little more 10 than two years. On the day on which he became a politician he became a cabinet minister. In a few months he was, both in name and in show, chief of the administration. Greater than he had been he could not be. If what he already possessed was vanity and vexation of 15 spirit, no delusion remained to entice him onward. He had been cloyed with the pleasures of ambition before he had been seasoned to its pains. His habits had not been such as were likely to fortify his mind against obloquy and public hatred. He had reached his forty-eighth 20 year in dignified ease, without knowing, by personal experience, what it was to be ridiculed and slandered. All at once, without any previous initiation, he had found himself exposed to such a storm of invective and satire as had never burst on the head of any statesman. The 25 emoluments of office were now nothing to him; for he had just succeeded to a princely property by the death of his father-in-law. All the honors which could be bestowed on him he had already secured. He had obtained the Garter for himself, and a British peerage for his son. He seems also to have imagined that by

quitting the treasury he should escape from danger and abuse without really resigning power, and should still be able to exercise in private supreme influence over the royal mind.

Whatever may have been his motives, he retired. 5
Fox at the same time took refuge in the House of Lords; and George Grenville became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

We believe that those who made this arrangement fully intended that Grenville should be a mere puppet 10 in the hands of Bute; for Grenville was as yet very imperfectly known even to those who had observed him long. He passed for a mere official drudge; and he had all the industry, the minute accuracy, the formality, the tediousness, which belong to the character. But he had 15 other qualities which had not yet shown themselves, devouring ambition, dauntless courage, self-confidence amounting to presumption, and a temper which could not endure opposition. He was not disposed to be anybody's tool; and he had no attachment, political or per- 20 sonal, to Bute. The two men had, indeed, nothing in common, except a strong propensity towards harsh and unpopular courses. Their principles were fundamentally different. Bute was a Tory. Grenville would have been very angry with any person who should have 25 denied his claim to be a Whig. He was more prone to tyrannical measures than Bute; but he loved tyranny only when disguised under the forms of constitutional liberty. He mixed up, after a fashion then not very unusual, the theories of the republicans of the seven-

teenth century with the technical maxims of English law, and thus succeeded in combining anarchical speculation with arbitrary practice. The voice of the people was the voice of God; but the only legitimate organ
5 through which the voice of the people could be uttered was the Parliament. All power was from the people; but to the Parliament the whole power of the people had been delegated. No Oxonian divine had ever, even in the years which immediately followed the Restoration,
10 demanded for the King so abject, so unreasoning a homage, as Grenville, on what he considered as the purest Whig principles, demanded for the Parliament. As he wished to see the Parliament despotic over the nation, so he wished to see it also despotic over the court. In
15 his view the prime minister, possessed of the confidence of the House of Commons, ought to be Mayor of the Palace. The King was a mere Childeric or Chilperic, who might well think himself lucky in being permitted to enjoy such handsome apartments at Saint James's,
20 and so fine a park at Windsor.

Thus the opinions of Bute and those of Grenville were diametrically opposed. Nor was there any private friendship between the two statesmen. Grenville's nature was not forgiving; and he well remembered how,
25 a few months before, he had been compelled to yield the lead of the House of Commons to Fox.

We are inclined to think, on the whole, that the worst administration which has governed England since the Revolution was that of George Grenville. His public acts may be classed under two heads, outrages on the

liberty of the people, and outrages on the dignity of the crown.

He began by making war on the press. John Wilkes, member of Parliament for Aylesbury, was singled out for persecution. Wilkes had, till very lately, been 5 known chiefly as one of the most profane, licentious, and agreeable rakes about town. He was a man of taste, reading, and engaging manners. His sprightly conversation was the delight of green rooms and taverns, and pleased even grave hearers when he was sufficiently 10 under restraint to abstain from detailing the particulars of his amours, and from breaking jests on the New Testament. His expensive debaucheries forced him to have recourse to the Jews. He was soon a ruined man, and determined to try his chance as a political adven- 15 turer. In Parliament, he did not succeed. His speaking, though pert, was feeble, and by no means interested his hearers so much as to make them forget his face, which was so hideous that the caricaturists were forced, in their own despite, to flatter him. As a writer, he 20 made a better figure. He set up a weekly paper, called the *North Briton*. This journal, written with some pleasantry, and great audacity and impudence, had a considerable number of readers. Forty-four numbers had been published when Bute resigned; and, though 25 almost every number had contained matter grossly libellous, no prosecution had been instituted. The forty-fifth number was innocent when compared with the majority of those which had preceded it, and indeed contained nothing so strong as may in our time be found

daily in the leading articles of the *Times* and *Morning Chronicle*. But Grenville was now at the head of affairs. A new spirit had been infused into the administration. Authority was to be upheld. The government was
5 no longer to be braved with impunity. Wilkes was arrested under a general warrant, conveyed to the Tower, and confined there with circumstances of unusual severity. His papers were seized, and carried to the Secretary of State. These harsh and illegal measures
10 produced a violent outbreak of popular rage, which was soon changed to delight and exultation. The arrest was pronounced unlawful by the Court of Common Pleas, in which Chief Justice Pratt presided, and the prisoner was discharged. This victory over the government was
15 celebrated with enthusiasm both in London and in the cider counties.

While the ministers were daily becoming more odious to the nation, they were doing their best to make themselves also odious to the court. They gave the King
20 plainly to understand that they were determined not to be Lord Bute's creatures, and exacted a promise that no secret adviser should have access to the royal ear. They soon found reason to suspect that this promise had not been observed. They remonstrated in terms less respect-
25 ful than their master had been accustomed to hear, and gave him a fortnight to make his choice between his favorite and his cabinet.

George the Third was greatly disturbed. He had but a few weeks before exulted in his deliverance from the yoke of the great Whig connection. He had even

declared that his honor would not permit him ever again to admit the members of that connection into his service. He now found that he had only exchanged one set of masters for another set still harsher and more imperious. In his distress he thought on Pitt. From 5 Pitt it was possible that better terms might be obtained than either from Grenville, or from the party of which Newcastle was the head.

Grenville, on his return from an excursion into the country, repaired to Buckingham House. He was aston- 10 ished to find at the entrance a chair, the shape of which was well known to him, and indeed to all London. It was distinguished by a large boot, made for the purpose of accommodating the great Commoner's gouty leg. Grenville guessed the whole. His brother-in-law was 15 closeted with the King. Bute, provoked by what he considered as the unfriendly and ungrateful conduct of his successors, had himself proposed that Pitt should be summoned to the palace.

Pitt had two audiences on two successive days. What 20 passed at the first interview led him to expect that the negotiation would be brought to a satisfactory close; but on the morrow he found the King less complying. The best account, indeed the only trustworthy account of the conference, is that which was taken from Pitt's 25 own mouth by Lord Hardwicke. It appears that Pitt strongly represented the importance of conciliating those chiefs of the Whig party who had been so unhappy as to incur the royal displeasure. They had, he said, been the most constant friends of the House of Hanover.

Their power was great; they had been long versed in public business. If they were to be under sentence of exclusion, a solid administration could not be formed. His Majesty could not bear to think of putting himself
5 into the hands of those whom he had recently chased from his court with the strongest marks of anger. "I am sorry, Mr. Pitt," he said, "but I see this will not do. My honor is concerned. I must support my honor." How his Majesty succeeded in supporting his honor, we
10 shall soon see.

Pitt retired, and the King was reduced to request the ministers, whom he had been on the point of discarding, to remain in office. During the two years which followed, Grenville, now closely leagued with the Bedfords,
15 was the master of the court; and a hard master he proved. He knew that he was kept in place only because there was no choice except between himself and the Whigs. That under any circumstances the Whigs would be forgiven, he thought impossible. The late
20 attempt to get rid of him had roused his resentment; the failure of that attempt had liberated him from all fear. He had never been very courtly. He now began to hold a language, to which, since the days of Cornet Joyce and President Bradshaw, no English King had
25 been compelled to listen.

In one matter, indeed, Grenville, at the expense of justice and liberty, gratified the passions of the court while gratifying his own. The persecution of Wilkes was eagerly pressed. He had written a parody on Pope's Essay on Man, entitled the Essay on Woman, and had

appended to it notes, in ridicule of Warburton's famous Commentary. This composition was exceedingly profligate, but not more so, we think, than some of Pope's own works, the imitation of the second satire of the first book of Horace, for example; and, to do Wilkes justice, 5 he had not, like Pope, given his ribaldry to the world. He had merely printed at a private press a very small number of copies, which he meant to present to some of his boon companions, whose morals were in no more danger of being corrupted by a loose book than a negro 10 of being tanned by a warm sun. A tool of the government, by giving a bribe to the printer, procured a copy of this trash, and placed it in the hands of the ministers. The ministers resolved to visit Wilkes's offence against decorum with the utmost rigor of the law. What share 15 piety and respect for morals had in dictating this resolution, our readers may judge from the fact that no person was more eager for bringing the libertine poet to punishment than Lord March, afterwards Duke of Queensberry. On the first day of the session of Parlia- 20 ment, the book, thus disgracefully obtained, was laid on the table of the Lords by the Earl of Sandwich, whom the Duke of Bedford's interest had made Secretary of State. The unfortunate author had not the slightest suspicion that his licentious poem had ever been seen, 25 except by his printer and by a few of his dissipated companions, till it was produced in full Parliament. Though he was a man of easy temper, averse from danger, and not very susceptible of shame, the surprise, the disgrace, the prospect of utter ruin, put him beside

himself. He picked a quarrel with one of Lord Bute's dependents, fought a duel, was seriously wounded, and when half recovered, fled to France. His enemies had now their own way both in the Parliament and in the
5 King's Bench. He was censured, expelled from the House of Commons, outlawed. His works were ordered to be burned by the common hangman. Yet was the multitude still true to him. In the minds even of many moral and religious men, his crime seemed light when
10 compared with the crime of his accusers. The conduct of Sandwich, in particular, excited universal disgust. His own vices were notorious; and, only a fortnight before he laid the *Essay on Woman* before the House of Lords, he had been drinking and singing loose catches
15 with Wilkes at one of the most dissolute clubs in London. Shortly after the meeting of Parliament, the *Beggar's Opera* was acted at Covent Garden theatre. When Macheath uttered the words, — "That Jemmy Twitcher should peach me I own surprised me," — pit, boxes, and
20 galleries burst into a roar which seemed likely to bring the roof down. From that day Sandwich was universally known by the nickname of Jemmy Twitcher. The ceremony of burning the *North Briton* was interrupted by a riot. The constables were beaten; the paper was
25 rescued; and, instead of it, a jackboot and a petticoat were committed to the flames. Wilkes had instituted an action for the seizure of his papers against the Undersecretary of State. The jury gave a thousand pounds damages. But neither these nor any other indications of public feeling had power to move Grenville.

He had the Parliament with him: and, according to his political creed, the sense of the nation was to be collected from the Parliament alone.

Soon, however, he found reason to fear that even the Parliament might fail him. On the question of the legality of general warrants, the Opposition, having on its side all sound principles, all constitutional authorities, and the voice of the whole nation, mustered in great force, and was joined by many who did not ordinarily vote against the government. On one occasion the ministry, in a very full House, had a majority of only fourteen votes. The storm, however, blew over. The spirit of the Opposition, from whatever cause, began to flag at the moment when success seemed almost certain. The session ended without any change. Pitt, whose eloquence had shone with its usual lustre in all the principle debates, and whose popularity was greater than ever, was still a private man. Grenville, detested alike by the court and by the people, was still minister.

As soon as the Houses had risen, Grenville took a step which proved, even more signally than any of his past acts, how despotic, how acrimonious, and how fearless his nature was. Among the gentlemen not ordinarily opposed to the government, who, on the great constitutional question of general warrants, had voted with the minority, was Henry Conway, brother of the Earl of Hertford, a brave soldier, a tolerable speaker, and a well-meaning, though not a wise or vigorous politician. He was now deprived of his regiment, the merited reward of faithful and gallant service in two

wars. It was confidently asserted that in this violent measure the King heartily concurred.

But whatever pleasure the persecution of Wilkes, or the dismissal of Conway, may have given to the royal mind, it is certain that his Majesty's aversion to his ministers increased day by day. Grenville was as frugal of the public money as of his own, and morosely refused to accede to the King's request, that a few thousand pounds might be expended in buying some open fields to the west of the gardens of Buckingham House. In consequence of this refusal, the fields were soon covered with buildings, and the King and Queen were overlooked in their most private walks by the upper windows of a hundred houses. Nor was this the worst. Grenville was as liberal of words as he was sparing of guineas. Instead of explaining himself in that clear, concise, and lively manner, which alone could win the attention of a young mind new to business, he spoke in the closet just as he spoke in the House of Commons. When he had harangued two hours, he looked at his watch, as he had been in the habit of looking at the clock opposite the Speaker's chair, apologized for the length of his discourse, and then went on for an hour more. The members of the House of Commons can cough an orator down, or can walk away to dinner; and they were by no means sparing in the use of these privileges when Grenville was on his legs. But the poor young King had to endure all this eloquence with mournful civility. To the end of his life he continued to talk with horror of Grenville's orations.

About this time took place one of the most singular events in Pitt's life. There was a certain Sir William Pynsent, a Somersetshire baronet of Whig politics, who had been a Member of the House of Commons in the days of Queen Anne, and had retired to rural privacy 5 when the Tory party, towards the end of her reign, obtained the ascendancy in her councils. His manners were eccentric. His morals lay under very odious imputations. But his fidelity to his political opinions was unalterable. During fifty years of seclusion he con- 10 tinued to brood over the circumstances which had driven him from public life, the dismissal of the Whigs, the peace of Utrecht, the desertion of our allies. He now thought that he perceived a close analogy between the well-remembered events of his youth and the events 15 which he had witnessed in extreme old age; between the disgrace of Marlborough and the disgrace of Pitt; between the elevation of Harley and the elevation of Bute; between the treaty negotiated by St. John and the treaty negotiated by Bedford; between the wrongs 20 of the House of Austria in 1712 and the wrongs of the House of Brandenburg in 1762. This fancy took such possession of the old man's mind that he determined to leave his whole property to Pitt. In this way Pitt unexpectedly came into possession of near three thousand 25 pounds a year. Nor could all the malice of his enemies find any ground for reproach in the transaction. Nobody could call him a legacy hunter. Nobody could accuse him of seizing that to which others had a better claim. For he had never in his life seen Sir William; and Sir

William had left no relation so near as to be entitled to form any expectations respecting the estate.

The fortunes of Pitt seemed to flourish; but his health was worse than ever. We cannot find that, 5 during the session which began in January 1765, he once appeared in Parliament. He remained some months in profound retirement at Hayes, his favorite villa, scarcely moving except from his armchair to his bed, and from his bed to his armchair, and often employing his wife 10 as his amanuensis in his most confidential correspondence. Some of his detractors whispered that his invisibility was to be ascribed quite as much to affectation as to gout. In truth his character, high and splendid as it was, wanted simplicity. With genius which did 15 not need the aid of stage tricks, and with a spirit which should have been far above them, he had yet been, through life, in the habit of practising them. It was, therefore, now surmised that, having acquired all the consideration which could be derived from eloquence 20 and from great services to the state, he had determined not to make himself cheap by often appearing in public, but, under the pretext of ill health, to surround himself with mystery, to emerge only at long intervals and on momentous occasions, and at other times to deliver his 25 oracles only to a few favored votaries, who were suffered to make pilgrimages to his shrine. If such were his object, it was for a time fully attained. Never was the magic of his name so powerful, never was he regarded by his country with such superstitious veneration, as during this year of silence and seclusion.

While Pitt was thus absent from Parliament, Grenville proposed a measure destined to produce a great revolution, the effects of which will long be felt by the whole human race. We speak of the act for imposing stamp duties on the North American colonies. The plan was eminently characteristic of its author. Every feature of the parent was found in the child. A timid statesman would have shrunk from a step, of which Walpole, at a time when the colonies were far less powerful, had said, "He who shall propose it will be a much bolder man than I." But the nature of Grenville was insensible to fear. A statesman of large views would have felt that to lay taxes at Westminster on New England and New York, was a course opposed, not indeed to the letter of the Statute Book, or to any decision contained in the Term Reports, but to the principles of good government, and to the spirit of the constitution. A statesman of large views would also have felt that ten times the estimated produce of the American stamps would have been dearly purchased by even a transient quarrel between the mother country and the colonies. But Grenville knew of no spirit of the constitution distinct from the letter of the law, and of no national interests except those which are expressed by pounds, shillings, and pence. That his policy might give birth to deep discontents in all the provinces, from the shore of the Great Lakes to the Mexican sea; that France and Spain might seize the opportunity of revenge; that the empire might be dismembered; that the debt, that debt with the amount of which he perpetually

reproached Pitt, might, in consequence of his own policy, be doubled; these were possibilities which never occurred to that small, sharp mind.

The Stamp Act will be remembered as long as the globe lasts. But, at the time, it attracted much less notice in this country than another Act which is now almost utterly forgotten. The King fell ill, and was thought to be in a dangerous state. His complaint, we believe, was the same which, at a later period, repeatedly incapacitated him for the performance of his regal functions. The heir-apparent was only two years old. It was clearly proper to make provision for the administration of the government, in case of a minority. The discussions on this point brought the quarrel between the court and the ministry to a crisis. The King wished to be intrusted with the power of naming a regent by will. The ministers feared, or affected to fear, that, if this power were conceded to him, he would name the Princess Mother, nay, possibly the Earl of Bute. They, therefore, insisted on introducing into the bill words confining the King's choice to the royal family. Having thus excluded Bute, they urged the King to let them, in the most marked manner, exclude the Princess Dowager also. They assured him that the House of Commons would undoubtedly strike her name out, and by this threat they wrung from him a reluctant assent. In a few days, it appeared that the representations by which they had induced the King to put this gross and public affront on his mother were unfounded. The friends of the Princess in the House of Commons moved that her

name should be inserted. The ministers could not decently attack the parent of their master. They hoped that the Opposition would come to their help, and put on them a force to which they would gladly have yielded. But the majority of the Opposition, though hating the Princess, hated Grenville more, beheld his embarrassment with delight, and would do nothing to extricate him from it. The Princess's name was accordingly placed in the list of persons qualified to hold the regency. 5 10

The King's resentment was now at the height. The present evil seemed to him more intolerable than any other. Even the junta of Whig grandees could not treat him worse than he had been treated by his present ministers. In his distress he poured out his whole heart to his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland. The Duke was not a man to be loved; but he was eminently a man to be trusted. He had an intrepid temper, a strong understanding, and a high sense of honor and duty. As a general, he belonged to a remarkable class of captains, 20 — captains, we mean, whose fate it has been to lose almost all the battles which they have fought, and yet to be reputed stout and skilful soldiers. Such captains were Coligni and William the Third. We might, perhaps, add Marshal Soult to the list. The bravery of the Duke 25 of Cumberland was such as distinguished him even among the princes of his brave house. The indifference with which he rode about amidst musket balls and cannon balls was not the highest proof of his fortitude. Hopeless maladies, horrible surgical operations, far from

- unmanning him, did not even discompose him. With courage, he had the virtues which are akin to courage. He spoke the truth, was open in enmity and friendship, and upright in all his dealings. But his nature was
5 hard; and what seemed to him justice was rarely tempered with mercy. He was, therefore, during many years one of the most unpopular men in England. The severity with which he had treated the rebels after the
10 battle of Culloden, had gained for him the name of the Butcher. His attempts to introduce into the army of England, then in a most disorderly state, the rigorous discipline of Potsdam, had excited still stronger disgust. Nothing was too bad to be believed of him. Many
15 honest people were so absurd as to fancy that, if he were left Regent during the minority of his nephews, there would be another smothering in the Tower. These feelings, however, had passed away. The Duke had been living, during some years, in retirement. The English, full of animosity against the Scots, now blamed his
20 Royal Highness only for having left so many Camerons and Macphersons to be made gaugers and custom-house officers. He was, therefore, at present, a favorite with his countrymen, and especially with the inhabitants of London.
- 25 He had little reason to love the King, and had shown clearly, though not obtrusively, his dislike of the system which had lately been pursued. But he had high and almost romantic notions of the duty which, as a prince of the blood, he owed to the head of his house. He determined to extricate his nephew from bondage, and

to effect a reconciliation between the Whig party and the throne, on terms honorable to both.

In this mind he set off for Hayes, and was admitted to Pitt's sick-room; for Pitt would not leave his chamber, and would not communicate with any messenger of inferior dignity. And now began a long series of errors on the part of the illustrious statesman, errors which involved his country in difficulties and distresses more serious even than those from which his genius had formerly rescued her. His language was haughty, unreasonable, almost unintelligible. The only thing which could be discerned through a cloud of vague and not very gracious phrases, was that he would not at that moment take office. The truth, we believe, was this. Lord Temple, who was Pitt's evil genius, had just formed a new scheme of politics. Hatred of Bute and of the Princess had, it should seem, taken entire possession of Temple's soul. He had quarrelled with his brother George, because George had been connected with Bute and the Princess. Now that George appeared to be the enemy of Bute and of the Princess, Temple was eager to bring about a general family reconciliation. The three brothers, as Temple, Grenville, and Pitt, were popularly called, might make a ministry, without leaning for aid either on Bute or on the Whig connection. With such views, Temple used all his influence to dissuade Pitt from acceding to the propositions of the Duke of Cumberland. Pitt was not convinced. But Temple had an influence over him such as no other person had ever possessed. They were very old friends, very near relations.

If Pitt's talents and fame had been useful to Temple, Temple's purse had formerly, in times of great need, been useful to Pitt. They had never been parted in politics. Twice they had come into the cabinet together; 5 twice they had left it together. Pitt could not bear to think of taking office without his chief ally. Yet he felt that he was doing wrong, that he was throwing away a great opportunity of serving his country. The obscure and unconciliatory style of the answers which he returned 10 to the overtures of the Duke of Cumberland, may be ascribed to the embarrassment and vexation of a mind not at peace with itself. It is said that he mournfully exclaimed to Temple, —

15 “*Extincti te meque, soror, populumque, patresque*
/ *Sidonios, urbemque tuam.*”

The prediction was but too just.

Finding Pitt impracticable, the Duke of Cumberland advised the King to submit to necessity, and to keep 20 Grenville and the Bedfords. It was, indeed, not a time at which offices could safely be left vacant. The unsettled state of the government had produced a general relaxation through all the departments of the public service. Meetings, which at another time would have been harm- 25 less, now turned to riots, and rapidly rose almost to the dignity of rebellions. The Houses of Parliament were blockaded by the Spitalfields weavers. Bedford House was assailed on all sides by a furious rabble, and was strongly garrisoned with horse and foot. Some people attributed these disturbances to the friends of Bute, and

some to the friends of Wilkes. But, whatever might be the cause, the effect was general insecurity. Under such circumstances the King had no choice. With bitter feelings of mortification, he informed the ministers that he meant to retain them.

5

They answered by demanding from him a promise on his royal word never more to consult Lord Bute. The promise was given. They then demanded something more. Lord Bute's brother, Mr. Mackenzie, held a lucrative office in Scotland. Mr. Mackenzie must be 10 dismissed. The King replied that the office had been given under very peculiar circumstances, and that he had promised never to take it away while he lived. Grenville was obstinate ; and the King, with a very bad grace, yielded.

15

The session of Parliament was over. The triumph of the ministers was complete. The King was almost as much a prisoner as Charles the First had been, when in the Isle of Wight. Such were the fruits of the policy which, only a few months before, was represented as 20 having forever secured the throne against the dictation of insolent subjects.

His Majesty's natural resentment showed itself in every look and word. In his extremity he looked wistfully towards that Whig connection, once the object of 25 his dread and hatred. The Duke of Devonshire, who had been treated with such unjustifiable harshness, had lately died, and had been succeeded by his son, who was still a boy. The King condescended to express his regret for what had passed, and to invite the young Duke to

court. The noble youth came, attended by his uncles, and was received with marked graciousness.

This and many other symptoms of the same kind irritated the ministers. They had still in store for their
5 sovereign an insult which would have provoked his grandfather to kick them out of the room. Grenville and Bedford demanded an audience of him, and read him a remonstrance of many pages, which they had drawn up with great care. His Majesty was accused of breaking
10 his word, and of treating his advisers with gross unfairness. The Princess was mentioned in language by no means eulogistic. Hints were thrown out that Bute's head was in danger. The King was plainly told that he must not continue to show, as he had done, that he dis-
15 liked the situation in which he was placed, that he must frown upon the Opposition, that he must carry it fair towards his ministers in public. He several times interrupted the reading, by declaring that he had ceased to hold any communication with Bute. But the ministers,
20 disregarding his denial, went on; and the King listened in silence, almost choked by rage. When they ceased to read, he merely made a gesture expressive of his wish to be left alone. He afterwards owned that he thought he should have gone into a fit.

25 Driven to despair, he again had recourse to the Duke of Cumberland; and the Duke of Cumberland again had recourse to Pitt. Pitt was really desirous to undertake the direction of affairs, and owned, with many dutiful expressions, that the terms offered by the King were all that any subject could desire. But Temple was imprac-

licable; and Pitt, with great regret, declared that he could not, without the concurrence of his brother-in-law, undertake the administration.

The Duke now saw only one way of delivering his nephew. An administration must be formed of the Whigs in opposition, without Pitt's help. The difficulties seemed almost insuperable. Death and desertion had grievously thinned the ranks of the party lately supreme in the state. Those among whom the Duke's choice lay might be divided into two classes, men too old for important offices, and men who had never been in any important office before. The cabinet must be composed of broken invalids or of raw recruits.

This was an evil, yet not an unmixed evil. If the new Whig statesmen had little experience in business and debate, they were, on the other hand, pure from the taint of that political immorality which had deeply infected their predecessors. Long prosperity had corrupted that great party which had expelled the Stuarts, limited the prerogatives of the crown, and curbed the intolerance of the Hierarchy. Adversity had already produced a salutary effect. On the day of the accession of George the Third, the ascendancy of the Whig party terminated; and on that day the purification of the Whig party began. The rising chiefs of that party were men of a very different sort from Sandys and Winnington, from Sir William Yonge and Henry Fox. They were men worthy to have charged by the side of Hampden at Chalgrove, or to have exchanged the last embrace with Russell on the scaffold in Lincoln's Inn Fields. They carried into politics the

same high principles of virtue which regulated their private dealings, nor would they stoop to promote even the noblest and most salutary ends by means which honor and probity condemn. Such men were Lord John
5 Cavendish, Sir George Savile, and others whom we hold in honor as the second founders of the Whig party, as the restorers of its pristine health and energy after half a century of degeneracy.

The chief of this respectable band was the Marquess
10 of Rockingham, a man of splendid fortune, excellent sense, and stainless character. He was indeed nervous to such a degree that, to the very close of his life, he never rose without great reluctance and embarrassment to address the House of Lords. But, though not a great
15 orator, he had in a high degree some of the qualities of a statesman. He chose his friends well; and he had in an extraordinary degree the art of attaching them to him by ties of the most honorable kind. The cheerful fidelity with which they adhered to him through many years of
20 almost hopeless opposition was less admirable than the disinterestedness and delicacy which they showed when he rose to power.

We are inclined to think that the use and the abuse of party cannot be better illustrated than by a parallel
25 between two powerful connections of that time, the Rockinghams and the Bedfords. The Rockingham party was, in our view, exactly what a party should be. It consisted of men bound together by common opinions, by common public objects, by mutual esteem. That they desired to obtain, by honest and constitutional means,

the direction of affairs they openly avowed. But, though often invited to accept the honors and emoluments of office, they steadily refused to do so on any conditions inconsistent with their principles. The Bedford party, as a party, had, as far as we can discover, no principle 5 whatever. Rigby and Sandwich wanted public money, and thought that they should fetch a higher price jointly than singly. They therefore acted in concert, and prevailed on a much more important and a much better man than themselves to act with them. 10

It was to Rockingham that the Duke of Cumberland now had recourse. The Marquess consented to take the treasury. Newcastle, so long the recognized chief of the Whigs, could not well be excluded from the ministry. He was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal. A 15 very honest clear-headed country gentlemen, of the name of Dowdeswell, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. General Conway, who had served under the Duke of Cumberland, and was strongly attached to his royal highness, was made Secretary of State, with the 20 lead in the House of Commons. A great Whig nobleman, in the prime of manhood, from whom much was at that time expected, Augustus Duke of Grafton, was the other Secretary.

The oldest man living could remember no government 25 so weak in oratorical talents and in official experience. The general opinion was, that the ministers might hold office during the recess, but that the first day of debate in Parliament would be the last day of their power. Charles Townshend was asked what he thought of the

new administration. "It is," said he, "mere lutestring ; pretty summer wear. It will never do for the winter."

At this conjuncture Lord Rockingham had the wisdom to discern the value, and secure the aid, of an ally, 5 who, to eloquence surpassing the eloquence of Pitt, and to industry which shamed the industry of Grenville, united an amplitude of comprehension to which neither Pitt nor Grenville could lay claim. A young Irishman had, some time before, come over to push his fortune in 10 London. He had written much for the booksellers ; but he was best known by a little treatise, in which the style and reasoning of Bolingbroke were mimicked with exquisite skill, and by a theory, of more ingenuity than soundness, touching the pleasures which we receive 15 from the objects of taste. He had also attained a high reputation as a talker, and was regarded by the men of letters who supped together at the Turk's Head as the only match in conversation for Dr. Johnson. He now became private secretary to Lord Rockingham, and was 20 brought into Parliament by his patron's influence. These arrangements, indeed, were not made without some difficulty. The Duke of Newcastle, who was always meddling and chattering, adjured the first lord of the treasury to be on his guard against this adventurer, 25 whose real name was O'Bourke, and whom his grace knew to be a wild Irishman, a Jacobite, a Papist, a concealed Jesuit. Lord Rockingham treated the calumny as it deserved ; and the Whig party was strengthened and adorned by the accession of Edmund Burke.

The party, indeed, stood in need of accessions ; for it

sustained about this time an almost irreparable loss. The Duke of Cumberland had formed the government, and was its main support. His exalted rank and great name in some degree balanced the fame of Pitt. As mediator between the Whigs and the Court, he held a 5 place which no other person could fill. The strength of his character supplied that which was the chief defect of the new ministry. Conway, in particular, who, with excellent intentions and respectable talents, was the most dependent and irresolute of human beings, drew 10 from the counsels of that masculine mind a determination not his own. Before the meeting of Parliament the Duke suddenly died. His death was generally regarded as the signal of great troubles, and on this account, as well as from respect for his personal qualities, 15 was greatly lamented. It was remarked that the mourning in London was the most general ever known, and was both deeper and longer than the Gazette had prescribed.

In the mean time, every mail from America brought 20 alarming tidings. The crop which Grenville had sown, his successors had now to reap. The colonies were in a state bordering on rebellion. The stamps were burned. The revenue officers were tarred and feathered. All traffic between the discontented provinces and the 25 mother country was interrupted. The Exchange of London was in dismay. Half the firms of Bristol and Liverpool were threatened with bankruptcy. In Leeds, Manchester, Nottingham, it was said that three artisans out of every ten had been turned adrift. Civil war

seemed to be at hand; and it could not be doubted that, if once the British nation were divided against itself, France and Spain would soon take part in the quarrel.

Three courses were open to the ministers. The first
5 was to enforce the Stamp Act by the sword. This was the course on which the King, and Grenville, whom the King hated beyond all living men, were alike bent. The natures of both were arbitrary and stubborn. They resembled each other so much that they could never be
10 friends; but they resembled each other also so much that they saw almost all important practical questions in the same point of view. Neither of them would bear to be governed by the other; but they were perfectly agreed as to the best way of governing the people.

15 Another course was that which Pitt recommended. He held that the British Parliament was not constitutionally competent to pass a law for taxing the colonies. He therefore considered the Stamp Act as a nullity, as a document of no more validity than Charles's writ of
20 ship-money, or James's proclamation dispensing with the penal laws. This doctrine seems to us, we must own, to be altogether untenable.

Between these extreme courses lay a third way. The opinion of the most judicious and temperate statesmen of
25 those times was that the British constitution had set no limit whatever to the legislative power of the British King, Lords, and Commons, over the whole British Empire. Parliament, they held, was legally competent to tax America, as Parliament was legally competent to commit any other act of folly or wickedness, to confis-

cate the property of all the merchants in Lombard Street, or to attain any man in the kingdom of high treason, without examining witnesses against him, or hearing him in his own defence. The most atrocious act of confiscation or of attainder is just as valid an act 5 as the Toleration Act or the Habeas Corpus Act. But from acts of confiscation and acts of attainder lawgivers are bound, by every obligation of morality, systematically to refrain. In the same manner ought the British legislature to refrain from taxing the American colonies. 10 The Stamp Act was indefensible, not because it was beyond the constitutional competence of Parliament, but because it was unjust and impolitic, sterile of revenue, and fertile of discontents. These sound doctrines were adopted by Lord Rockingham and his colleagues, and 15 were, during a long course of years, inculcated by Burke in orations, some of which will last as long as the English language.

The winter came; the Parliament met; and the state of the colonies instantly became the subject of fierce 20 contention. Pitt, whose health had been somewhat restored by the waters of Bath, reappeared in the House of Commons, and, with ardent and pathetic eloquence, not only condemned the Stamp Act, but applauded the resistance of Massachusetts and Virginia, and vehemently 25 maintained, in defiance, we must say, of all reason and of all authority, that, according to the British constitution, the supreme legislative power does not include the power to tax. The language of Grenville, on the other hand, was such as Strafford might have used at the

council table of Charles the First, when news came of the resistance to the liturgy at Edinburgh. The colonists were traitors; those who excused them were little better. Frigates, mortars, bayonets, sabres, were
5 the proper remedies for such distempers.

The ministers occupied an intermediate position; they proposed to declare that the legislative authority of the British Parliament over the whole Empire was in all cases supreme; and they proposed, at the same
10 time, to repeal the Stamp Act. To the former measure Pitt objected; but it was carried with scarcely a dissentient voice. The repeal of the Stamp Act Pitt strongly supported; but against the Government was arrayed a formidable assemblage of opponents. Grenville and
15 the Bedfords were furious. Temple, who had now allied himself closely with his brother, and separated himself from Pitt, was no despicable enemy. This, however, was not the worst. The ministry was without its natural strength. It had to struggle, not only
20 against its avowed enemies, but against the insidious hostility of the King, and of a set of persons who, about this time, began to be designated as the King's friends.

The character of this faction has been drawn by Burke with even more than his usual force and vivacity.
25 Those who know how strongly, through his whole life, his judgment was biassed by his passions, may not unnaturally suspect that he has left us rather a caricature than a likeness; and yet there is scarcely, in the whole portrait, a single touch of which the fidelity is not proved by facts of unquestionable authenticity.

The public generally regarded the King's friends as a body of which Bute was the directing soul. It was to no purpose that the Earl professed to have done with politics, that he absented himself year after year from the levee and the drawing-room, that he went to the north, that he went to Rome. The notion that, in some inexplicable manner, he dictated all the measures of the court, was fixed in the minds, not only of the multitude, but of some who had good opportunities of obtaining information, and who ought to have been superior to vulgar prejudices. Our own belief is that these suspicions were unfounded, and that he ceased to have any communication with the King on political matters some time before the dismissal of George Grenville. The supposition of Bute's influence is, indeed, by no means necessary to explain the phenomena. The King, in 1765, was no longer the ignorant and inexperienced boy who had, in 1760, been managed by his mother and his Groom of the Stole. He had, during several years, observed the struggles of parties, and conferred daily on high questions of state with able and experienced politicians. His way of life had developed his understanding and character. He was now no longer a puppet, but had very decided opinions both of men and things. Nothing could be more natural than that he should have high notions of his own prerogatives, should be impatient of opposition, and should wish all public men to be detached from each other and dependent on himself alone; nor could anything be more natural than that, in the state in which the

political world then was, he should find instruments fit for his purposes.

Thus sprang into existence and into note a reptile species of politicians never before and never since 5 known in our country. These men disclaimed all political ties, except those which bound them to the throne. They were willing to coalesce with any party, to abandon any party, to undermine any party, to assault any party, at a moment's notice. To them, all adminis-
10 trations and all oppositions were the same. They regarded Bute, Grenville, Rockingham, Pitt, without one sentiment either of predilection or of aversion. They were the King's friends. It is to be observed that this friendship implied no personal intimacy. These people had
15 never lived with their master as Dodington at one time lived with his father, or as Sheridan afterwards lived with his son. They never hunted with him in the morning, or played cards with him in the evening, never shared his mutton, or walked with him among his tur-
20 nips. Only one or two of them ever saw his face, except on public days. The whole band, however, always had early and accurate information as to his personal inclinations. These people were never high in the administration. They were generally to be found in
25 places of much emolument, little labor, and no responsibility; and these places they continued to occupy securely while the cabinet was six or seven times reconstructed. Their peculiar business was not to support the ministry against the Opposition, but to support the King against the ministry. Whenever his Majesty was

induced to give a reluctant assent to the introduction of some bill which his constitutional advisers regarded as necessary, his friends in the House of Commons were sure to speak against it, to vote against it, to throw in its way every obstruction compatible with the forms of 5 Parliament. If his Majesty found it necessary to admit into his closet a Secretary of State or a First Lord of the Treasury whom he disliked, his friends were sure to miss no opportunity of thwarting and humbling the obnoxious minister. In return for these services, the 10 King covered them with his protection. It was to no purpose that his responsible servants complained to him that they were daily betrayed and impeded by men who were eating the bread of the government. He sometimes justified the offenders, sometimes excused them, 15 sometimes owned that they were to blame, but said that he must take time to consider whether he could part with them. He never would turn them out; and, while everything else in the state was constantly changing, these sycophants seemed to have a life estate in their 20 offices.

It was well known to the King's friends that, though his Majesty had consented to the repeal of the Stamp Act, he had consented with a very bad grace, and that though he had eagerly welcomed the Whigs, when, in his 25 extreme need and at his earnest entreaty, they had undertaken to free him from an insupportable yoke, he had by no means got over his early prejudices against his deliverers. The ministers soon found that, while they were encountered in front by the whole force of a

strong Opposition, their rear was assailed by a large body of those whom they had regarded as auxiliaries.

Nevertheless, Lord Rockingham and his adherents went on resolutely with the bill for repealing the Stamp
5 Act. They had on their side all the manufacturing and commercial interests of the realm. In the debates the government was powerfully supported. Two great orators and statesmen, belonging to two different generations, repeatedly put forth all their powers in defence
10 of the bill. The House of Commons heard Pitt for the last time, and Burke for the first time, and was in doubt to which of them the palm of eloquence should be assigned. It was indeed a splendid sunset and a splendid dawn.

15 For a time the event seemed doubtful. In several divisions the ministers were hard pressed. On one occasion, not less than twelve of the King's friends, all men in office, voted against the government. It was to no purpose that Lord Rockingham remonstrated with the
20 King. His Majesty confessed that there was ground for complaint, but hoped that gentle means would bring the mutineers to a better mind. If they persisted in their misconduct, he would dismiss them.

At length the decisive day arrived. The gallery, the
25 lobby, the Court of Requests, the staircases, were crowded with merchants from all the great ports of the island. The debate lasted till long after midnight. On the division the ministers had a great majority. The dread of civil war, and the outcry of all the trading towns of the kingdom, had been too strong for the combined strength of the court and the Opposition.

It was in the first dim twilight of a February morning that the doors were thrown open, and that the chiefs of the hostile parties showed themselves to the multitude. Conway was received with loud applause. But, when Pitt appeared, all eyes were fixed on him alone. All hats were in the air. Loud and long huzzas accompanied him to his chair, and a train of admirers escorted him all the way to his home. Then came forth Grenville. As soon as he was recognized, a storm of hisses and curses broke forth. He turned fiercely on the crowd, and caught one man by the throat. The bystanders were in great alarm. If a scuffle began, none could say how it might end. Fortunately the person who had been collared only said, "If I may not hiss, sir, I hope I may laugh," and laughed in Grenville's face.

The majority had been so decisive, that all the opponents of the ministry, save one, were disposed to let the bill pass without any further contention. But solicitation and expostulation were thrown away on Grenville. His indomitable spirit rose up stronger and stronger under the load of public hatred. He fought out the battle obstinately to the end. On the last reading he had a sharp altercation with his brother-in-law, the last of their many sharp altercations. Pitt thundered in his loftiest tones against the man who had wished to dip the ermine of a British King in the blood of the British people. Grenville replied with his wonted intrepidity and asperity. "If the tax," he said, "were still to be laid on, I would lay it on. For the evils which it may

produce, my accuser is answerable. His profusion made it necessary. His declarations against the constitutional powers of Kings, Lords, and Commons have made it doubly necessary. I do not envy him the huzza. I 5 glory in the hiss. If it were to be done again, I would do it."

The repeal of the Stamp Act was the chief measure of Lord Rockingham's government. But that government is entitled to the praise of having put a stop to two 10 oppressive practices, which, in Wilkes's case, had attracted the notice and excited the just indignation of the public. The House of Commons was induced by the ministers to pass a resolution condemning the use of general warrants, and another resolution condemning 15 the seizure of papers in cases of libel.

It must be added, to the lasting honor of Lord Rockingham, that his administration was the first which, during a long course of years, had the courage and the virtue to refrain from bribing members of Par- 20 liament. His enemies accused him and his friends of weakness, of haughtiness, of party spirit; but calumny itself never dared to couple his name with corruption.

Unhappily his government, though one of the best that has ever existed in our country, was also one of the 25 weakest. The King's friends assailed and obstructed the ministers at every turn. To appeal to the King was only to draw forth new promises and new evasions. His Majesty was sure that there must be some misunderstanding. Lord Rockingham had better speak to the gentlemen. They should be dismissed on the next fault.

The next fault was soon committed, and His Majesty still continued to shuffle. It was too bad. It was quite abominable; but it mattered less as the prorogation was at hand. He would give the delinquents one more chance. If they did not alter their conduct next session, 5 he should not have one word to say for them. He had already resolved that, long before the commencement of the next session, Lord Rockingham should cease to be minister.

We have now come to a part of our story which, 10 admiring as we do the genius and the many noble qualities of Pitt, we cannot relate without much pain. We believe that, at this conjuncture, he had it in his power to give the victory either to the Whigs or to the King's friends. If he had allied himself closely with Lord 15 Rockingham, what could the court have done? There would have been only one alternative, the Whigs or Grenville; and there could be no doubt what the King's choice would be. He still remembered, as well he might, with the uttermost bitterness, the thralldom from 20 which his uncle had freed him, and said about this time, with great vehemence, that he would sooner see the Devil come into his closet than Grenville.

And what was there to prevent Pitt from allying himself with Lord Rockingham? On all the most impor- 25 tant questions their views were the same. They had agreed in condemning the peace, the Stamp Act, the general warrant, the seizure of papers. The points on which they differed were few and unimportant. In integrity, in disinterestedness, in hatred of corruption,

they resembled each other. Their personal interests could not clash. They sat in different Houses, and Pitt had always declared that nothing should induce him to be first lord of the treasury.

5 If the opportunity of forming a coalition beneficial to the state, and honorable to all concerned, was suffered to escape, the fault was not with the Whig ministers. They behaved towards Pitt with an obsequiousness which, had it not been the effect of sincere admiration
10 and of anxiety for the public interests, might have been justly called servile. They repeatedly gave him to understand that, if he chose to join their ranks, they were ready to receive him, not as an associate, but as a leader. They had proved their respect for him by
15 bestowing a peerage on the person who, at that time, enjoyed the largest share of his confidence, Chief Justice Pratt. What then was there to divide Pitt from the Whigs? What, on the other hand, were there in common between him and the King's friends, that he should lend
20 himself to their purposes, he who had never owed anything to flattery or intrigue, he whose eloquence and independent spirit had overawed two generations of slaves and jobbers, he who had twice been forced by the enthusiasm of an admiring nation on a reluctant
25 Prince?

Unhappily the court had gained Pitt, not, it is true, by those ignoble means which were employed when such men as Rigby and Wedderburn were to be won, but by allurements suited to a nature noble even in its aberrations. The King set himself to seduce the one man

who could turn the Whigs out without letting Grenville in. Praise, caresses, promises, were lavished on the idol of the nation. He, and he alone, could put an end to faction, could bid defiance to all the powerful connections in the land united, Whigs and Tories, Rocking- 5 hams, Bedfords, and Grenvilles. These blandishments produced a great effect. For though Pitt's spirit was high and manly, though his eloquence was often exerted with formidable effect against the court, and though his theory of government had been learned in the school of 10 Locke and Sidney, he had always regarded the person of the sovereign with profound veneration. As soon as he was brought face to face with royalty, his imagination and sensibility were too strong for his principles. His Whiggism thawed and disappeared; and he became, 15 for the time, a Tory of the old Ormond pattern. Nor was he by any means unwilling to assist in the work of dissolving all political connections. His own weight in the state was wholly independent of such connections. He was therefore inclined to look on them with dislike, 20 and made far too little distinction between gangs of knaves associated for the mere purpose of robbing the public, and confederacies of honorable men for the promotion of great public objects. Nor had he the sagacity to perceive that the strenuous efforts which he made to annihi- 25 late all parties tended only to establish the ascendancy of one party, and that the basest and most hateful of all.

It may be doubted whether he would have been thus misled, if his mind had been in full health and vigor. But the truth is that he had for some time been in an

unnatural state of excitement. No suspicion of this sort had yet got abroad. His eloquence had never shone with more splendor than during the recent debates. But people afterwards called to mind many things which
5 ought to have roused their apprehensions. His habits were gradually becoming more and more eccentric. A horror of all loud sounds, such as is said to have been one of the many oddities of Wallenstein, grew upon him. Though the most affectionate of fathers, he could not at
10 this time bear to hear the voices of his own children, and laid out great sums at Hayes in buying up houses contiguous to his own, merely that he might have no neighbors to disturb him with their noise. He then sold Hayes, and took possession of a villa at Hampstead,
15 where he again began to purchase houses to right and left. In expense, indeed, he vied, during this part of his life, with the wealthiest of the conquerors of Bengal and Tanjore. At Burton Pynsent, he ordered a great extent of ground to be planted with cedars. Cedars
20 enough for the purpose were not to be found in Somersetshire. They were therefore collected in London, and sent down by land carriage. Relays of laborers were hired; and the work went on all night by torchlight. No man could be more abstemious than Pitt; yet the
25 profusion of his kitchen was a wonder even to epicures. Several dinners were always dressing, for his appetite was capricious and fanciful; and at whatever moment he felt inclined to eat, he expected a meal to be instantly on the table. Other circumstances might be mentioned, such as separately are of little moment, but such as,

when taken together and when viewed in connection with the strange events which followed, justify us in believing that his mind was already in a morbid state.

Soon after the close of the session of Parliament, Lord Rockingham received his dismissal. He retired, 5 accompanied by a firm body of friends, whose consistency and uprightness enmity itself was forced to admit. None of them had asked or obtained any pension or any sinecure, either in possession or in reversion. Such disinterestedness was then rare among politicians. Their 10 chief, though not a man of brilliant talents, had won for himself an honorable fame, which he kept pure to the last. He had, in spite of difficulties which seemed almost insurmountable, removed great abuses and averted a civil war. Sixteen years later, in a dark and terrible 15 day, he was again called upon to save the state, brought to the very brink of ruin by the same perfidy and obstinacy which had embarrassed, and at length overthrown, his first administration.

Pitt was planting in Somersetshire when he was summoned to court by a letter written by the royal hand. 20 He instantly hastened to London. The irritability of his mind and body were increased by the rapidity with which he travelled; and when he reached his journey's end he was suffering from fever. Ill as he was, he saw 25 the King at Richmond, and undertook to form an administration.

Pitt was scarcely in the state in which a man should be who has to conduct delicate and arduous negotiations. In his letters to his wife, he complained that the con-

ferences in which it was necessary for him to bear a part heated his blood and accelerated his pulse. From other sources of information we learn that his language, even to those whose co-operation he wished to engage, 5 was strangely peremptory and despotic. Some of his notes written at this time have been preserved, and are in a style which Lewis the Fourteenth would have been too well bred to employ in addressing any French gentleman.

10 In the attempt to dissolve all parties, Pitt met with some difficulties. Some Whigs, whom the court would gladly have detached from Lord Rockingham, rejected all offers. The Bedfords were perfectly willing to break with Grenville; but Pitt would not come up to their 15 terms. Temple, whom Pitt at first meant to place at the head of the treasury, proved intractable. A coldness indeed had, during some months, been fast growing between the brothers-in-law, so long and so closely allied in politics. Pitt was angry with Temple for opposing 20 the repeal of the Stamp Act. Temple was angry with Pitt for refusing to accede to that family league which was now the favorite plan at Stowe. At length the Earl proposed an equal partition of power and patronage, and offered, on this condition, to give up his brother 25 George. Pitt thought the demand exorbitant, and positively refused compliance. A bitter quarrel followed. Each of the kinsmen was true to his character. Temple's soul festered with spite, and Pitt's swelled into contempt. Temple represented Pitt as the most odious of hypocrites and traitors.* Pitt held a different and per-

haps a more provoking tone. Temple was a good sort of man enough, whose single title to distinction was, that he had a large garden, with a large piece of water, and a great many pavilions and summer-houses. To his fortunate connection with a great orator and states- 5 man he was indebted for an importance in the state which his own talents could never have gained for him. That importance had turned his head. He had begun to fancy that he could form administrations, and govern empires. It was piteous to see a well-meaning man 10 under such a delusion.

In spite of all these difficulties, a ministry was made such as the King wished to see, a ministry in which all his Majesty's friends were comfortably accommodated, and which, with the exception of his Majesty's friends, 15 contained no four persons who had ever in their lives been in the habit of acting together. Men who had never concurred in a single vote found themselves seated at the same board. The office of paymaster was divided between two persons who had never exchanged a word. 20 Most of the chief posts were filled either by personal adherents of Pitt, or by members of the late ministry, who had been induced to remain in place after the dismissal of Lord Rockingham. To the former class belonged Pratt, now Lord Camden, who accepted the great 25 seal, and Lord Shelburne, who was made one of the Secretaries of State. To the latter class belonged the Duke of Grafton, who became First Lord of the Treasury, and Conway, who kept his old position both in the government and in the House of Commons. Charles

Townshend, who had belonged to every party, and cared for none, was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pitt himself was declared prime minister, but refused to take any laborious office. He was created Earl of Chatham, 5 and the privy seal was delivered to him.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that the failure, the complete and disgraceful failure, of this arrangement, is not to be ascribed to any want of capacity in the persons whom we have named. None of them was deficient 10 in abilities; and four of them, Pitt himself, Shelburne, Camden, and Townshend, were men of high intellectual eminence. The fault was not in the materials, but in the principle on which the materials were put together. Pitt had mixed up these conflicting elements, in the full 15 confidence that he should be able to keep them all in perfect subordination to himself, and in perfect harmony with each other. We shall soon see how the experiment succeeded.

On the very day on which the new prime minister 20 kissed hands, three-fourths of that popularity which he had long enjoyed without a rival, and to which he owed the greater part of his authority, departed from him. A violent outcry was raised, not against that part of his conduct which really deserved severe condemnation, but 25 against a step in which we can see nothing to censure. His acceptance of a peerage produced a general burst of indignation. Yet surely no peerage had ever been better earned; nor was there ever a statesman who more needed the repose of the Upper House. Pitt was now growing old. He was much older in constitution than

in years. It was with imminent risk to his life that he had, on some important occasions, attended his duty in Parliament. During the session of 1764, he had not been able to take part in a single debate. It was impossible that he should go through the nightly labor of 5 conducting the business of the government in the House of Commons. His wish to be transferred, under such circumstances, to a less busy and a less turbulent assembly, was natural and reasonable. The nation, however, overlooked all these considerations. Those who 10 had most loved and honored the great Commoner were loudest in invective against the new-made Lord. London had hitherto been true to him through every vicissitude. When the citizens learned that he had been sent for from Somersetshire, that he had been closeted with the 15 King at Richmond, and that he was to be first minister, they had been in transports of joy. Preparations were made for a grand entertainment and for a general illumination. The lamps had actually been placed round the Monument, when the Gazette announced that the 20 object of all this enthusiasm was an Earl. Instantly the feast was countermanded. The lamps were taken down. The newspapers raised the roar of obloquy. Pamphlets, made up of calumny and scurrility, filled the shops of all the booksellers; and of those pamphlets 25 the most galling were written under the direction of the malignant Temple. It was now the fashion to compare the two Williams, William Pulteney and William Pitt. Both, it was said, had, by eloquence and simulated patriotism, acquired a great ascendancy in the House of

Commons and in the country. Both had been intrusted with the office of reforming the government. Both had, when at the height of power and popularity, been seduced by the splendor of the coronet. Both had been
5 made earls, and both had at once become objects of aversion and scorn to the nation which a few hours before had regarded them with affection and veneration.

The clamor against Pitt appears to have had a serious effect on the foreign relations of the country. His name
10 had till now acted like a spell at Versailles and Saint Ildefonso. English travellers on the Continent had remarked that nothing more was necessary to silence a whole roomful of boasting Frenchmen than to drop a hint of the probability that Mr. Pitt would return to power.
15 In an instant there was deep silence: all shoulders rose, and all faces were lengthened. Now, unhappily, every foreign court, in learning that he was recalled to office, learned also that he no longer possessed the hearts of his countrymen. Ceasing to be loved at home, he
20 ceased to be feared abroad. The name of Pitt had been a charmed name. Our envoys tried in vain to conjure with the name of Chatham.

The difficulties which beset Chatham were daily increased by the despotic manner in which he treated all
25 around him. Lord Rockingham had, at the time of the change of ministry, acted with great moderation, had expressed a hope that the new government would act on the principles of the late government, and had even interfered to prevent many of his friends from quitting office. Thus Saunders and Keppel, two naval command-

ers of great eminence, had been induced to remain at the Admiralty, where their services were much needed. The Duke of Portland was still Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Besborough Postmaster. But within a quarter of a year, Lord Chatham had so deeply affronted these 5 men, that they all retired in disgust. In truth, his tone, submissive in the closet, was at this time insupportably tyrannical in the cabinet. His colleagues were merely his clerks for naval, financial, and diplomatic business. Conway, meek as he was, was on one occasion provoked 10 into declaring that such language as Lord Chatham's had never been heard west of Constantinople, and was with difficulty prevented by Horace Walpole from resigning, and rejoining the standard of Lord Rockingham.

The breach which had been made in the government 15 by the defection of so many of the Rockinghams, Chatham hoped to supply by the help of the Bedfords. But with the Bedfords he could not deal as he had dealt with other parties. It was to no purpose that he bade high for one or two members of the faction, in the hope 20 of detaching them from the rest. They were to be had; but they were to be had only in the lot. There was indeed for a moment some wavering and some disputing among them. But at length the counsels of the shrewd and resolute Rigby prevailed. They determined to 25 stand firmly together, and plainly intimated to Chatham that he must take them all, or that he should get none of them. The event proved that they were wiser in their generation than any other connection in the state. In a few months they were able to dictate their own terms.

The most important public measure of Lord Chatham's administration was his celebrated interference with the corn trade. The harvest had been bad; the price of food was high; and he thought it necessary to take on
5 himself the responsibility of laying an embargo on the exportation of grain. When Parliament met, this proceeding was attacked by the Opposition as unconstitutional, and defended by the ministers as indispensably necessary. At last an act was passed to indemnify all
10 who had been concerned in the embargo.

The first words uttered by Chatham in the House of Lords, were in defence of his conduct on this occasion. He spoke with a calmness, sobriety, and dignity, well suited to the audience which he was addressing. A
15 subsequent speech which he made on the same subject was less successful. He bade defiance to aristocratical connections, with a superciliousness to which the Peers were not accustomed, and with tones and gestures better suited to a large and stormy assembly than to the body
20 of which he was now a member. A short altercation followed, and he was told very plainly that he should not be suffered to browbeat the old nobility of England.

It gradually became clearer and clearer that he was in a distempered state of mind. His attention had been
25 drawn to the territorial acquisitions of the East India Company, and he determined to bring the whole of that great subject before Parliament. He would not, however, confer on the subject with any of his colleagues. It was in vain that Conway, who was charged with the conduct of business in the House of Commons, and

Charles Townshend, who was responsible for the direction of the finances, begged for some glimpse of light as to what was in contemplation. Chatham's answers were sullen and mysterious. He must decline any discussion with them; he did not want their assistance; he had fixed on a person to take charge of his measure in the House of Commons. This person was a member who was not connected with the government, and who neither had, nor deserved to have, the ear of the House, a noisy, purse-proud, illiterate demagogue, whose Cockney English and scraps of mispronounced Latin were the jest of the newspapers, Alderman Beckford. It may well be supposed that these strange proceedings produced a ferment through the whole political world. The city was in commotion. The East India Company invoked the faith of charters. Burke thundered against the ministers. The ministers looked at each other, and knew not what to say. In the midst of the confusion, Lord Chatham proclaimed himself gouty, and retired to Bath. It was announced, after some time, that he was better, that he would shortly return, that he would soon put everything in order. A day was fixed for his arrival in London. But when he reached the Castle inn at Marlborough, he stopped, shut himself up in his room, and remained there some weeks. Every body who travelled that road was amazed by the number of his attendants. Footmen and grooms, dressed in his family livery, filled the whole inn, though one of the largest in England, and swarmed in the streets of the little town. The truth was, that the invalid had insisted

that, during his stay, all the waiters and stable-boys of the Castle should wear his livery.

His colleagues were in despair. The Duke of Grafton proposed to go down to Marlborough in order to
5 consult the oracle. But he was informed that Lord Chatham must decline all conversation on business. In the mean time, all the parties which were out of office, Bedfords, Grenvilles, and Rockinghams, joined to oppose the distracted government on the vote for the land tax.
10 They were re-enforced by almost all the county members, and had a considerable majority. This was the first time that a ministry had been beaten on an important division in the House of Commons since the fall of Sir Robert Walpole. The administration thus furiously
15 assailed from without was torn by internal dissensions. It had been formed on no principle whatever. From the very first, nothing but Chatham's authority had prevented the hostile contingents which made up his ranks from going to blows with each other. That authority
20 was now withdrawn, and everything was in commotion. Conway, a brave soldier, but in civil affairs the most timid and irresolute of men, afraid of disobliging the King, afraid of being abused in the newspapers, afraid of being thought factious if he went out, afraid of
25 being thought interested if he stayed in, afraid of everything, and afraid of being known to be afraid of anything, was beaten backwards and forwards like a shuttlecock between Horace Walpole who wished to make him prime minister, and Lord John Cavendish who wished to draw him into opposition. Charles

Townshend, a man of splendid eloquence, of lax principles, and of boundless vanity and presumption, would submit to no control. The full extent of his parts, of his ambition, and of his arrogance, had not yet been made manifest; for he had always quailed before the genius and the lofty character of Pitt. But now that Pitt had quitted the House of Commons, and seemed to have abdicated the part of chief minister, Townshend broke loose from all restraint. 5

While things were in this state, Chatham at length returned to London. He might as well have remained at Marlborough. He would see nobody. He would give no opinion on any public matter. The Duke of Grafton begged piteously for an interview, for an hour, for half an hour, for five minutes. The answer was that it was impossible. The King himself repeatedly condescended to expostulate and implore. "Your duty," he wrote, "your own honor, require you to make an effort." The answers to these appeals were commonly written in Lady Chatham's hand, from her lord's dictation; for he had not energy even to use a pen. He flings himself at the King's feet. He is penetrated by the royal goodness, so signally shown to the most unhappy of men. He implores a little more indulgence. He cannot as yet transact business. He cannot see his colleagues. Least of all can he bear the excitement of an interview with majesty. 10 15 20 25

Some were half inclined to suspect that he was, to use a military phrase, malingering. He had made, they said, a great blunder, and had found it out. His immense popularity, his high reputation for statesmanship, were

gone forever. Intoxicated by pride, he had undertaken a task beyond his abilities. He now saw nothing before him but distresses and humiliations ; and he had therefore simulated illness, in order to escape from vexations
5 which he had not fortitude to meet. This suspicion, though it derived some color from that weakness which was the most striking blemish of his character, was certainly unfounded. His mind, before he became first minister, had been, as we have said, in an unsound state ; and
10 physical and moral causes now concurred to make the derangement of his faculties complete. The gout, which had been the torment of his whole life, had been suppressed by strong remedies. For the first time since he was a boy at Oxford, he had passed several months with-
15 out a twinge. But his hand and foot had been relieved at the expense of his nerves. He became melancholy, fanciful, irritable. The embarrassing state of public affairs, the grave responsibility which lay on him, the consciousness of his errors, the disputes of his col-
20 leagues, the savage clamors raised by his detractors, bewildered his enfeebled mind. One thing alone, he said, could save him. He must repurchase Hayes. The unwilling consent of the new occupant was extorted by Lady Chatham's entreaties and tears ; and her lord was
25 somewhat easier. But if business were mentioned to him, he, once the proudest and boldest of mankind, behaved like a hysterical girl, trembled from head to foot, and burst into a flood of tears.

His colleagues for a time continued to entertain the expectation that his health would soon be restored, and

that he would emerge from his retirement. But month followed month, and still he remained hidden in mysterious seclusion, and sunk, as far as they could learn, in the deepest dejection of spirits. They at length ceased to hope or to fear anything from him; and though he was 5 still nominally Prime Minister, took without scruple steps which they knew to be diametrically opposed to all his opinions and feelings, allied themselves with those whom he had proscribed, disgraced those whom he most esteemed, and laid taxes on the colonies, in the face of 10 the strong declarations which he had recently made.

When he had passed about a year and three-quarters in gloomy privacy, the King received a few lines in Lady Chatham's hand. They contained a request, dictated by her lord, that he might be permitted to resign 15 the Privy Seal. After some civil show of reluctance, the resignation was accepted. Indeed Chatham was, by this time, almost as much forgotten as if he had already been lying in Westminster Abbey.

At length, the clouds which had gathered over his 20 mind broke and passed away. His gout returned, and freed him from a more cruel malady. His nerves were newly braced. His spirits became buoyant. He woke as from a sickly dream. It was a strange recovery. Men had been in the habit of talking of him as of one 25 dead, and, when he first showed himself at the King's levee, started as if they had seen a ghost. It was more than two years and a half since he had appeared in public.

He, too, had cause for wonder. The world which he now entered was not the world which he had quitted.

The administration which he had formed had never been, at any one moment, entirely changed. But there had been so many losses and so many accessions, that he could scarcely recognize his own work. Charles Townshend was dead. Lord Shelburne had been dismissed. Conway had sunk into utter insignificance. The Duke of Grafton had fallen into the hands of the Bedfords. The Bedfords had deserted Grenville, had made their peace with the King and the King's friends, and had been admitted to office. Lord North was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was rising fast in importance. Corsica had been given up to France without a struggle. The disputes with the American colonies had been revived. A general election had taken place. Wilkes had returned from exile, and, outlaw as he was, had been chosen knight of the shire for Middlesex. The multitude was on his side. The Court was obstinately bent on ruining him, and was prepared to shake the very foundations of the constitution for the sake of a paltry revenge. The House of Commons, assuming to itself an authority which of right belongs only to the whole legislature, had declared Wilkes incapable of sitting in Parliament. Nor had it been thought sufficient to keep him out. Another must be brought in. Since the free-holders of Middlesex had obstinately refused to choose a member acceptable to the Court, the House had chosen a member for them. This was not the only instance, perhaps not the most disgraceful instance, of the inveterate malignity of the Court. Exasperated by the steady opposition of the Rockingham party, the King's friends

had tried to rob a distinguished Whig nobleman of his private estate, and had persisted in their mean wickedness till their own servile majority had revolted from mere disgust and shame. Discontent had spread throughout the nation, and was kept up by stimulants such as 5 had rarely been applied to the public mind. Junius had taken the field, had trampled Sir William Draper in the dust, had well-nigh broken the heart of Blackstone, and had so mangled the reputation of the Duke of Grafton, that his grace had become sick of office, and was beginning to look wistfully towards the shades of Euston. 10 Every principle of foreign, domestic, and colonial policy which was dear to the heart of Chatham had, during the eclipse of his genius, been violated by the government which he had formed. 15

The remaining years of his life were spent in vainly struggling against that fatal policy which, at the moment when he might have given it a death blow, he had been induced to take under his protection. His exertions redeemed his own fame, but they effected little for his 20 country.

He found two parties arrayed against the government, the party of his own brothers-in-law, the Grenvilles, and the party of Lord Rockingham. On the question of the Middlesex election these parties were agreed. But on 25 many other important questions they differed widely; and they were, in truth, not less hostile to each other than to the Court. The Grenvilles had, during several years, annoyed the Rockinghams with a succession of acrimonious pamphlets. It was long before the Rock-

inghams could be induced to retaliate. But an ill-natured tract, written under Grenville's direction, and entitled "A State of the Nation," was too much for their patience. Burke undertook to defend and avenge his
5 friends, and executed the task with admirable skill and vigor. On every point he was victorious, and nowhere more completely victorious than when he joined issue on those dry and minute questions of statistical and financial detail in which the main strength of Grenville
10 lay. The official drudge, even on his own chosen ground, was utterly unable to maintain the fight against the great orator and philosopher. When Chatham reappeared, Grenville was still writhing with the recent shame and smart of this well-merited chastisement.
15 Cordial co-operation between the two sections of the Opposition was impossible. Nor could Chatham easily connect himself with either. His feelings, in spite of many affronts given and received, drew him towards the Grenvilles. For he had strong domestic affections; and
20 his nature, which, though haughty, was by no means obdurate, had been softened by affliction. But from his kinsmen he was separated by a wide difference of opinion on the question of colonial taxation. A reconciliation, however, took place. He visited Stowe: he shook
25 hands with George Grenville; and the Whig freeholders of Buckinghamshire, at their public dinners, drank many bumpers to the union of the three brothers.

In opinions, Chatham was much nearer to the Rockinghams than to his own relatives. But between him and the Rockinghams there was a gulf not easily to be

passed. He had deeply injured them, and in injuring them, had deeply injured his country. When the balance was trembling between them and the Court, he had thrown the whole weight of his genius, of his renown, of his popularity, into the scale of misgovernment. It must be added, that many eminent members of the party still retained a bitter recollection of the asperity and disdain with which they had been treated by him at the time when he assumed the direction of affairs. It is clear from Burke's pamphlets and speeches, and still more clear from his private letters, and from the language which he held in conversation, that he regarded Chatham with a feeling not far removed from dislike. Chatham was undoubtedly conscious of his error, and desirous to atone for it. But his overtures of friendship, though made with earnestness, and even with unwonted humility, were at first received by Lord Rockingham with cold and austere reserve. Gradually the intercourse of the two statesmen became courteous and even amicable. But the past was never wholly forgotten.

Chatham did not, however, stand alone. Round him gathered a party, small in number, but strong in great and various talents. Lord Camden, Lord Shelburne, Colonel Barré, and Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, were the principal members of this connection.

There is no reason to believe that, from this time till within a few weeks of Chatham's death, his intellect suffered any decay. His eloquence was almost to the last heard with delight. But it was not exactly the

eloquence of the House of Lords. That lofty and passionate, but somewhat desultory declamation, in which he excelled all men, and which was set off by looks, tones, and gestures, worthy of Garrick or Talma, was
5 out of place in a small apartment where the audience often consisted of three or four drowsy prelates, three or four old judges, accustomed during many years to disregard rhetoric, and to look only at facts and arguments, and three or four listless and supercilious men of
10 fashion, whom anything like enthusiasm moved to a sneer. In the House of Commons, a flash of his eye, a wave of his arm, had sometimes cowed Murray. But, in the House of Peers, his utmost vehemence and pathos produced less effect than the moderation, the reasonable-
15 ness, the luminous order, and the serene dignity, which characterized the speeches of Lord Mansfield.

On the question of the Middlesex election, all the three divisions of the Opposition acted in concert. No orator in either House defended what is now universally
20 admitted to have been the constitutional cause with more ardor or eloquence than Chatham. Before this subject had ceased to occupy the public mind, George Grenville died. His party rapidly melted away; and in a short time most of his adherents appeared on the
25 ministerial benches.

Had George Grenville lived many months longer, the friendly ties which, after years of estrangement and hostility, had been renewed between him and his brother-in-law, would, in all probability, have been a second time violently dissolved. For now the quarrel between

England and the North American colonies took a gloomy and terrible aspect. Oppression provoked resistance; resistance was made the pretext for fresh oppression. The warnings of all the greatest statesmen of the age were lost on an imperious court and a deluded nation. 5 Soon a colonial senate confronted the British Parliament. Then the colonial militia crossed bayonets with the British regiments. At length the commonwealth was torn asunder. Two millions of Englishmen, who, fifteen years before, had been as loyal to their prince and as 10 proud of their country as the people of Kent or Yorkshire, separated themselves by a solemn act from the Empire. For a time it seemed that the insurgents would struggle to small purpose against the vast financial and military means of the mother country. But 15 disasters, following one another in rapid succession, rapidly dispelled the illusions of national vanity. At length a great British force, exhausted, famished, harassed on every side by a hostile peasantry, was compelled to deliver up its arms. Those governments which 20 England had, in the late war, so signally humbled, and which had during many years been sullenly brooding over the recollections of Quebec, of Minden, and of the Moro, now saw with exultation that the day of revenge was at hand. France recognized the independence of 25 the United States; and there could be little doubt that the example would soon be followed by Spain.

Chatham and Rockingham had cordially concurred in opposing every part of the fatal policy which had brought the state into this dangerous situation. But

their paths now diverged. Lord Rockingham thought, and, as the event proved, thought most justly, that the revolted colonies were separated from the Empire forever, and that the only effect of prolonging the war on
5 the American continent would be to divide resources which it was desirable to concentrate. If the hopeless attempt to subjugate Pennsylvania and Virginia were abandoned, war against the House of Bourbon might possibly be avoided, or, if inevitable, might be carried
10 on with success and glory. We might even indemnify ourselves for part of what we had lost, at the expense of those foreign enemies who had hoped to profit by our domestic dissensions. Lord Rockingham, therefore, and those who acted with him, conceived that the wisest
15 course now open to England was to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to turn her whole force against her European enemies.

Chatham, it should seem, ought to have taken the same side. Before France had taken any part in our
20 quarrel with the colonies, he had repeatedly, and with great energy of language, declared that it was impossible to conquer America, and he could not without absurdity maintain that it was easier to conquer France and America together than America alone. But
25 his passions overpowered his judgment, and made him blind to his own inconsistency. The very circumstances which made the separation of the colonies inevitable made it to him altogether insupportable. The dismemberment of the Empire seemed to him less ruinous and humiliating, when produced by domestic dissensions,

than when produced by foreign interference. His blood boiled at the degradation of his country. Whatever lowered her among the nations of the earth, he felt as a personal outrage to himself. And the feeling was natural. He had made her so great. He had been so proud 5 of her, and she had been so proud of him. He remembered how, more than twenty years before, in a day of gloom and dismay, when her possessions were torn from her, when her flag was dishonored, she had called on him to save her. He remembered the sudden and 10 glorious change which his energy had wrought, the long series of triumphs, the days of thanksgiving, the nights of illumination. Fired by such recollections, he determined to separate himself from those who advised that the independence of the colonies should be acknowl- 15 edged. That he was in error will scarcely, we think, be disputed by his warmest admirers. Indeed, the treaty, by which, a few years later, the republic of the United States was recognized, was the work of his most attached adherents and of his favorite son. 20

The Duke of Richmond had given notice of an address to the throne, against the further prosecution of hostilities with America. Chatham had, during some time, absented himself from Parliament, in consequence of his growing infirmities. He determined to appear in 25 his place on this occasion, and to declare that his opinions were decidedly at variance with those of the Rockingham party. He was in a state of great excitement. His medical attendants were uneasy, and strongly advised him to calm himself, and to remain at home. But

he was not to be controlled. His son William, and his son-in-law Lord Mahon, accompanied him to Westminster. He rested himself in the Chancellor's room till the debate commenced, and then, leaning on his two
5 young relations, limped to his seat. The slightest particulars of that day were remembered, and have been carefully recorded. He bowed, it was remarked, with great courtliness to those peers who rose to make way for him and his supporters. His crutch was in his
10 hand. He wore, as was his fashion, a rich velvet coat. His legs were swathed in flannel. His wig was so large, and his face so emaciated, that none of his features could be discerned, except the high curve of his nose, and his eyes, which still retained a gleam of the old
15 fire.

When the Duke of Richmond had spoken, Chatham rose. For some time his voice was inaudible. At length his tones became distinct and his action animated. Here and there his hearers caught a thought or an ex-
20 pression which reminded them of William Pitt. But it was clear that he was not himself. He lost the thread of his discourse, hesitated, repeated the same words several times, and was so confused that, in speaking of the Act of Settlement, he could not recall the name of
25 the Electress Sophia. The House listened in solemn silence, and with the aspect of profound respect and compassion. The stillness was so deep that the dropping of a handkerchief would have been heard. The Duke of Richmond replied with great tenderness and courtesy; but while he spoke, the old man was observed to be

restless and irritable. The Duke sat down. Chatham stood up again, pressed his hand on his breast, and sank down in an apoplectic fit. Three or four lords who sat near him caught him in his fall. The House broke up in confusion. The dying man was carried to the residence of one of the officers of Parliament, and was so far restored as to be able to bear a journey to Hayes. At Hayes, after lingering a few weeks, he expired in his seventieth year. His bed was watched to the last, with anxious tenderness, by his wife and children; and he well deserved their care. Too often haughty and wayward to others, to them he had been almost effeminately kind. He had through life been dreaded by his political opponents, and regarded with more awe than love even by his political associates. But no fear seems to have mingled with the affection which his fondness, constantly overflowing in a thousand endearing forms, had inspired in the little circle at Hayes.

Chatham, at the time of his decease, had not, in both Houses of Parliament, ten personal adherents. Half the public men of the age had been estranged from him by his errors, and the other half by the exertions which he had made to repair his errors. His last speech had been an attack at once on the policy pursued by the government, and on the policy recommended by the Opposition. But death restored him to his old place in the affection of his country. Who could hear unmoved of the fall of that which had been so great, and which had stood so long? The circumstances, too, seemed rather to belong to the tragic stage than to real life. A

great statesman, full of years and honors, led forth to the Senate House by a son of rare hopes, and stricken down in full council while straining his feeble voice to rouse the drooping spirit of his country, could not but
5 be remembered with peculiar veneration and tenderness. The few detractors who ventured to murmur were silenced by the indignant clamors of a nation which remembered only the lofty genius, the unsullied probity, the undisputed services, of him who was no more. For
10 once, the chiefs of all parties were agreed. A public funeral, a public monument, were eagerly voted. The debts of the deceased were paid. A provision was made for his family. The city of London requested that the remains of the great man whom she had so long loved
15 and honored might rest under the dome of her magnificent cathedral. But the petition came too late. Everything was already prepared for the interment in Westminster Abbey.

Though men of all parties had concurred in decreeing
20 posthumous honors to Chatham, his corpse was attended to the grave almost exclusively by opponents of the government. The banner of the lordship of Chatham was borne by Colonel Barré, attended by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Rockingham. Burke, Savile, and
25 Dunning upheld the pall. Lord Camden was conspicuous in the procession. The chief mourner was young William Pitt. After the lapse of more than twenty-seven years, in a season as dark and perilous, his own shattered frame and broken heart were laid, with the same pomp, in the same consecrated mould.

Chatham sleeps near the northern door of the Church, in a spot which has ever since been appropriated to statesmen, as the other end of the same transept has long been to poets. Mansfield rests there, and the second William Pitt, and Fox, and Grattan, and Canning, 5 and Wilberforce. In no other cemetery do so many great citizens lie within so narrow a space. High over those venerable graves towers the stately monument of Chatham, and from above, his effigy, graven by a cunning hand, seems still, with eagle face and outstretched 10 arm, to bid England be of good cheer, and to hurl defiance at her foes. The generation which reared that memorial of him has disappeared. The time has come when the rash and indiscriminate judgments which his contemporaries passed on his character may be calmly 15 revised by history. And history, while, for the warning of vehement, high, and daring natures, she notes his many errors, will yet deliberately pronounce, that, among the eminent men whose bones lie near his, scarcely one has left a more stainless, and none a more splendid, 20 name.

NOTES.

PAGE 1, LINE 2. **Political life**, etc. See Macaulay's first "Essay on the Earl of Chatham." Pitt entered Parliament in 1735.

P. 1, l. 3. **George the Second**, died Oct. 25, 1760.

P. 1, l. 13. **George the Third**, 1760-1820. He was the grandson of George. II.

P. 2, l. 1. **Idol of England**. Macaulay says, "Whigs and Tories vied with each other in extolling the genius and energy of Pitt."

P. 2, l. 3. **Tidings of battles won**, etc. Especially Wolfe's great victory at Quebec and Clive's achievements in India.

P. 2, l. 6. **Great religious schism**. To what does this refer?

P. 2, l. 12. **English parties**. Whigs and Tories. The name is practically meaningless. In 1679 the nicknames "Whig" and "Tory" were given to the two parties into which the nation was divided on the Exclusion Bill (a bill to bar the succession of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., brother of Charles II.).

The Whigs were the party most inclined to progress, most zealous for Protestantism and the legal rights of Parliament, and the earnest promoters of the Exclusion Bill. The Tories were distrustful of popular power, upholders of the doctrine of Divine Right of Kings and Bishops, and the successful opponents of the Exclusion Bill.

P. 2, l. 23. **House of Hanover**. The House of Hanover has occupied the English throne since George Lewis of Brunswick, Elector of Hanover, in accordance with the Act of Settlement, became George I. in 1714. See note, page 18, line 12.

P. 2, l. 27. **Protestant dynasty**; i.e., House of Hanover. By the Bill of Rights, Roman Catholics cannot receive the crown of England.

P. 2, l. 29. **Revolution**. The Revolution of 1688, the foundation of which was the Bill of Rights. By virtue of this bill and of the Act of Settlement, "an English monarch is now as much the creature of an Act of Parliament as the pettiest tax-gatherer in his realm."

PAGE 3, LINE 8. **Dante**, 1265-1321. The great Italian poet. His Divine Comedy has been called the "Epic of Mediævalism."

P. 3, l. 8. **In Malebolge** (evil budgets). The eighth circle of Dante's "Inferno."

"There is a place within the depths of hell,
Called Malêbolgê.

DANTE, "Inferno," Canto XVIII. 1300.

P. 3, l. 20. **Reign of George the First**. From 1714 to 1727. See note, page 2, line 23.

P. 3, l. 29. **The Whig**. The Whigs governed the country from 1714 to 1761.

P. 4, l. 2. **Comptroller's staff, Great Wardrobe**. Offices of the court of the sovereign.

P. 4, l. 3. **Locke**. John Locke, 1632-1704. A celebrated English philosopher and scholar. Drafted "The grand model" for the Carolinas.

P. 4, l. 4. **Milton**. John Milton, 1608-1674. Most celebrated English poet since Shakespeare. Secretary to the Council of State under Cromwell. See Macaulay's "Essay on Milton." Locke and Milton were among the most earnest and able defenders of the Commonwealth.

P. 4, l. 4. **Pym and Hampden**. John Pym, "King Pym," 1584-1643. John Hampden, 1594-1643. The most eminent leaders of the Parliamentary party in the contest with Charles I. Hampden's name is gloriously connected with the refusal to pay ship-money. See Green's "Short History," and Macaulay's "Essay on Hampden."

P. 4, l. 5. **Thirtieth of January**. Charles I. was beheaded in front of Whitehall Palace on Jan. 30, 1649. The executioner, according to custom, wore a mask that his features might not be seen. It is not known who acted as executioner at the death of Charles I. For some years it was the custom of the Whigs to drink to the memory of the "man in the mask," on the anniversary of this day.

P. 4, l. 9 **Walpole**. Sir Robert Walpole, 1676-1745. An eminent Whig statesman. The famous Prime Minister of George I. and George II. See Macaulay's first "Essay on the Earl of Chatham," also his essays on "Horace Walpole's Letters," and on Lord Mahon's "War of the Succession in Spain."

PAGE 4, LINE 10. **Strafford and Laud.** Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1593-1641.

William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury 1573-1645. Ministers of Charles I., who were employed by him to establish an absolute system of rule and to enforce conformity. Both were executed for treason.

P. 4, l. 19. **Guizot**, 1787-1874. Celebrated French statesman and historian. Most noted work, "History of Civilization."

P. 4, l. 19. **Villemain**, 1790-1870. A French critic and Minister of State. One of the most accomplished writers of his time.

P. 4, l. 21. **Genoude**, 1792-1849. French journalist. Editor of royalist journal, but afterwards acted with the revolutionary party.

P. 4, l. 21. **La Roche Jaquelin**, 1805-1867. Leader of the democratic legitimists during reign of Louis Philippe. Made a senator by Napoleon III.

What is the point of Macaulay's reference to these men?

P. 4, l. 23, 24. **Cavaliers and Roundheads.** Origin of the names uncertain. Probably referred to the outward appearance. The names were first used about 1641 at the time of the discussion of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill (a bill to expel the Bishops from Parliament). "Cavalier" being applied to the Royalists, and "Roundheads" to those who flocked into Westminster and cried out against the bishops. The same hostile parties at a later date were called Whigs and Tories. See note, page 2, line 12.

What are the parties in England to-day? Are they essentially the same as the above?

P. 4, l. 29. **Sidney.** Algernon Sidney, 1622-1683. In 1682 one of the council of six which managed the affairs of the Whig party. Accused of complicity in the Rye House Plot (a plan of the extreme Whigs to murder Charles II. and the Duke of York), and, on insufficient evidence, was condemned and beheaded.

P. 5, l. 1. **Jeffreys.** Lord George Jeffreys, 1648-1689. Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. His circuit was called the "Bloody Assize."

P. 5, l. 8. **Created peers.** Peers, the hereditary nobility of England. The English peerage is not a caste, as was the French nobility. Until the thirteenth century the ownership of land was a necessary condition of nobility. Now peers are created by letters-patent; i.e., open letters bearing the royal seal. There were numerous creations

under the Georges for political services rendered, in fact, most of the present titles can be traced no further back.

What distinguished literary man was raised to a peerage a few years ago?

Baronets. An hereditary knighthood. First created by James I. when in want of money for the support of his army.

PAGE 5, LINE 14. **For Walpole's Excise Scheme**, see note, page 55, line 4.

P. 5, l. 14. **Septennial Parliaments.** The Septennial Act, prolonging the duration of Parliament to seven years, was passed in 1716. Between 1694 and 1716 the duration of each Parliament was three years. Before 1694, there was no specified term.

P. 5, l. 15. **Quarter sessions.** A bringing together of all Justices of the Peace at least four times a year. Primarily a court of appeal from penal sentences.

P. 5, l. 20. **Heir apparent.** Frederic, Prince of Wales. He died in 1751, nine years before his father.

P. 5, l. 22. **Jacobites.** Adherents of the Stuart cause after the Revolution of 1688. Meaning of the word?

P. 6, l. 4. **House of Brunswick.** See note, page 2, line 23.

P. 6, l. 5. **Russells, Cavendishes, and the Pelhams.** Distinguished Whig families. See Green's "Short History."

P. 6, l. 9. **Wrekin.** A hill in Shropshire.

P. 6, l. 11. **Oxford.** Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, 1661-1724. Distinguished Tory and a Prime Minister under Queen Anne. See Green's "Short History," Chap. IX.

P. 6, l. 11. **White staff.** Badge of authority as Lord Treasurer.

P. 6, l. 12. **Queen Anne.** Anne, daughter of James II., reigned from 1702-1714.

P. 6, l. 25. **Timoleon.** Born about 400 B.C.. An illustrious Greek statesman and general. Rescued Syracuse from the hands of Dionysius and other tyrants.

P. 6, l. 25. **Brutus.** What historical reference?

P. 7, l. 3. **The Rump.** So called because it contained the rump, or, "fag-end," of the Long Parliament (1640-1653). The members of the "rump" were expelled by Cromwell because they were becoming jealous of his power.

P. 7, l. 9. **Heir of the House of Stuart.** Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, grandson of James II.

PAGE 7, LINE 10. **Discontented heir.** See note, page 5, line 20.

P. 7, l. 12. **Culloden.** A battle fought in the north of Scotland between Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, and troops of George II. under the Duke of Cumberland, 1746.

P. 7, l. 22. **Minorca.** The smaller of the two principal Balearic Islands. Key of the Mediterranean.

P. 7, l. 24. **House of Bourbon.** Royal family of France, founded by Henry of Navarre (Henry IV.) in 1576. This line ruled France until 1848, excepting the period of the Republic and the empire of Napoleon I.

P. 7, l. 30. **Duke of Newcastle,** 1693-1768. One of the famous family of Pelhams. A minister under Walpole.

P. 7, l. 30. **Alternate victories,** etc. See Macaulay's first "Essay on the Earl of Chatham."

P. 8, l. 17. **Pelham,** Newcastle's brother, Henry Pelham, 1695-1754. Leader of the ministry after the death of Walpole. See Green's "Short History," Chap. X., "The Pelhams," and Macaulay's "Essay on Horace Walpole's letters."

P. 8, l. 19. **The boroughs,** etc. A reference to the towns called "pocket," or "rotten buroughs," which, with no, or scarcely any, inhabitants, still continued to have representation in Parliament. All parliamentary boroughs had been specified previous to the Revolution of 1688; and no provision was made in case of an increase or decrease in population. Hence it happened that large towns, which had become important since 1688, as Manchester and Sheffield, were without representation, while towns of no importance, as Sudbury and Old Sarum, enjoyed this privilege. Old Sarum hadn't a single inhabitant. The House of Commons had lost its representative character. The younger Pitt said at a later time, "This House is not the representative of the People of Great Britain. It is the representative of nominal boroughs, of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates."

P. 9, l. 2. **Well qualified.** Horace Walpole wrote, "Mr. Pitt does everything, and the Duke gives everything."

P. 9, l. 4. **Treasury.** The first Lord of the Treasury is usually Prime Minister. See note, page 27, line 15.

P. 9, l. 5. **Patronage.** See note, page 24, line 1.

PAGE 9, LINE 6. Secret-service money. Money appropriated and expended without account. Given by the ministers for secret pensions and direct bribery. See note, page 8, line 19, and page 24, line 1.

P. 9, l. 8. Secretary of State. First mentioned in reign of Henry III. At first a clergyman, and called the "king's clerk." Assumed importance in reign of Elizabeth.

P. 9, l. 13. Gold sticks. See dictionary.

P. 9, l. 13. Ribands. (Ribbons). Insignia of rank.

P. 9, l. 14. Lincoln's Inn Fields. An open space, the resort of beggars and quacks. Some of the noble families had dwellings near it.

P. 9, l. 16. Lawn sleeves. See dictionary. "A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn." — POPE

P. 9, l. 21, 22, 25. Excise, Prebend, Potwallopers. See dictionary.

P. 10, l. 13. Lucrative contracts. Government contracts, as supplying the navy with beef, etc. Another way of bribing.

P. 10, l. 14. Cornish Corporation. The officials of the corporation of a town or borough elected its representatives to Parliament. These officials were ready to sell their votes to the highest bidder. Hence to secure the votes of these officials. See note, page 8, line 19.

P. 12, l. 1. Cavendish, Lennox, etc. Great Whig families. Landed proprietors, who controlled the Whig party during the first half of the eighteenth century.

P. 12, l. 9. Head of the Grenvilles. Richard Grenville, Earl Temple, 1711-1779. A brother of George Grenville, the author of the Stamp Act.

P. 12, l. 15. Keeper of the privy seal. The privy seal is affixed to charters, pardons, etc., before they come to the great seal, the "emblem of sovereignty." In some cases of minor importance, it is sufficient to pass the privy seal.

P. 12, l. 15. His brother George. George Grenville, 1712-1770. Author of the Stamp Act. See page 29, line 7, and ff.

P. 12, l. 20. Bloomsbury gang. The Bedford house stood in Bloomsbury Square.

P. 12, l. 29. Rigby. Rigby was called the "boatswain of the Bloomsbury crew." He was the most notable placeman of the age.

P. 13, l. 10. Lord Lieutenant, etc. Sometimes a member of the Cabinet. See note, page 14, line 18.

PAGE 13, LINE 16. **William Murray**, 1704-1793. Afterwards Lord Mansfield. See page 38, line 29.

Henry Fox, Lord Holland. He died in 1774. The father of Charles James Fox. For Murray and Fox, see Macaulay's first "Essay on the Earl of Chatham," also page 47, line 18, and ff.

P. 13, l. 17. **Chief Justice of the King's Bench**, and four justices presided at this court, the highest criminal court in the kingdom. Before 1806 the chief justice was a member of the Cabinet.

P. 13, l. 26. **Boy Charles**. Charles James Fox, 1749-1806. One of the most celebrated English statesmen and orators. Called "the most accomplished debater that ever appeared on the theatre of public affairs." He opposed Lord North's policy of American taxation. See any English History of the period.

P. 14, l. 5-10. **Hardwicke, Legge, Townsend**, etc. For further mention, see Macaulay's first "Essay on Chatham."

P. 14, l. 18. **Cabinet**, or Ministry. The Cabinet in England has no constitutional existence. In the eye of the law it is merely a committee of the Privy Council. (See note, page 26, line 18.)

It represents the will of the majority of the House of Commons, and its members are not the king's servants as they formerly were. This change was brought about in the reign of William and Mary through the efforts of Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland. Since that time, if there is a vote in the House of Commons adverse to the policy of the Cabinet, all of the members either resign or apply to the crown for a dissolution of Parliament. There are usually from eleven to seventeen members of the Cabinet. See Macaulay's "History of England," Vol. IV, Chap. XX.

P. 14, l. 20. **Militia**. Pitt reorganized the militia in 1757.

P. 14, l. 25. **The Cocoa Tree**. A celebrated tavern of London on St. James Street, Piccadilly. Called the "Wit's Coffee House."

P. 15, l. 7. **Inclosure bills**. Bills for the inclosure of common lands. Sanction for inclosing the common lands had to be obtained of Parliament, but many influential men obtained this permission, thus taking away the privilege of using these lands from the common people.

P. 16, l. 5. **Emperor Francis**. Francis Joseph Karl, 1768-1835. Francis I. of Austria. He was the last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, which was brought to an end by the great victory of Napoleon I. at the battle of Austerlitz in 1805.

PAGE 16, LINE 6. **Napoleon Bonaparte.** Napoleon I. 1769-1821. After divorcing Josephine he married Maria Louise, daughter of Francis I. of Austria.

P. 16, l. 12. **Richard Cromwell, 1626-1712.** Eldest son of Oliver Cromwell, Protector of England. He succeeded his father as Protector in 1658, but soon abdicated.

P. 16, l. 17. **Guelphs.** The House of Hanover. The Guelphs and Gibellines were two great parties in Germany and Italy which contended for supremacy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

P. 16, l. 27. **The Elector.** See note, page 2, line 23.

P. 16, l. 28. **Crown of another.** See note, page 7, line 9.

P. 16, l. 29. **Blood of the brave, etc.** See note, page 7, line 12, and page 18, line 13.

P. 17, l. 22. **St. James's.** The royal palace of the sovereigns of England.

Hernhausen. Palace of the House of Hanover, near the city of Hanover, Germany.

The Electorate of Hanover and the English monarchy were united until the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837. Why separated then?

P. 18, l. 12. **Revolution.** See note, page 2, line 29.

Act of Settlement, 1701. The crown to pass after Anne to the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her Protestant descendants. George I. was her son. See note, page 2, lines 23 and 27.

P. 18, l. 13. **Risings of 1715.** An attempt of the Old Pretender, James, son of James II., to gain the throne. He was aided by the high Tories. See Green's "Short History," Chap. IX. Jacobite Revolt.

And of 1745. See note, page 7, line 12.

P. 18, l. 14. **Derwentwater, Kilmarnock, etc.** These four men aided the Young Pretender, and were executed after his defeat at Culloden.

P. 18, l. 16. **Old line.** Stuart line. See note, page 2, line 29; and note, page 18, line 12.

P. 19, l. 3. **Apis.** The sacred bull worshipped by the Egyptians.

P. 19, l. 8. **Doges, Stadtholders, etc.** See dictionary. William III. was a Stadtholder in Holland before he became King of England.

P. 19, l. 11. **Dido, etc.** Dido, Queen of Carthage. Virgil's "Æneid," Book IV., 20-24.

P. 19, l. 14. **Harley.** See note, page 6, line 11.

PAGE 19, LINE 15. **Somersetts, Lees, etc.** Noted Tory families.

P. 19, l. 20. **Atterbury.** Bishop Atterbury, a Jacobite leader.

P. 20, l. 5. **Detractors of the Princess-dowager.** Lord Cobham said of her, "She was the only woman he could never find out; all he had discovered was, that she hated those most to whom she paid most court."

P. 20, l. 23. **Groom of the Stole.** Officer of the Household.

P. 20, l. 29. **Scotch Representative peers.** The Scotch peers choose from their number sixteen representatives, whose term of office expires with the Parliament for which they are chosen. See page 27, line 6.

P. 21, l. 10. **Lothario.** A gay libertine. The character came originally from "The Fair Penitent," by Rowe.

P. 21, l. 21. **Sir Charles Grandison.** "History of Sir Charles Grandison." A novel of Samuel Richardson, the celebrated English novelist. Scott says of the character, "The faultless monster that the world ne'er saw."

P. 21, l. 23. **Leicester House.** Residence of Frederick, Prince of Wales. Called the "Pouting-place for princes." Why?

P. 22, l. 20. **Kew.** There is a palace here, once the favorite residence of George III.

P. 22, l. 29. **Sacheverell.** Dr. Sacheverell, a Tory churchman, was impeached by the Whig ministers in Queen Anne's reign for a sermon preached against the war, and in favor of non-resistance.

Perceval. Spencer Perceval, a Prime Minister of George III. from 1809-1812 at the time of the famous "right of search." Assassinated.

P. 22, l. 30. **Bolingbroke.** Henry St. John, 1678-1751. "A man of splendid talents." Prime Minister of Queen Anne, and an associate of Robert Harley (note, page 6, line 11). At the death of Anne, he tried to place James, the Pretender, on the throne. Was impeached and banished.

P. 23, l. 16. **William and Mary.** From 1689-1702. What was the instrument? See note, page 2, line 29.

P. 23, l. 23. **House of Commons.** See note, page 14, line 18.

P. 24, l. 1. **Control of Individuals.** Newcastle, it is said, controlled a third of all the borough members of the House. The seats in Parliament of these boroughs were sold by their "patrons" or sold themselves, — "Titles, pensions, or hard cash, satisfying the varying wants of all." See note, page 8, line 19.

PAGE 24, LINE 2. **Debates published.** In 1771, Wilkes forced the Commons to allow the publication of debates. Since this time debates have been published, although sometimes asserted a breach of faith.

P. 24, l. 30. **Reforming the Constitution.** Although attempts at reform were made by Wilkes, Burdett, and especially by the Elder and Younger Pitt, it was not until 1832 that a complete Reform Bill was passed.

P. 25, l. 10. **Be master.** "George, George, be king" was the instruction his mother, the Princess of Wales, had repeatedly given to him. See page 54, line 15.

P. 25, l. 12. **Ministers.** See note, page 14, line 18.

P. 25, l. 15. **Constituent bodies or the representative body.** See note, page 24, line 1.

P. 25, l. 25, 26. **Equip a sloop, etc.** Since the Revolution of 1688, the crown has been dependent for its ordinary revenues on the House of Commons. At this time Parliament stopped granting revenue for life, and resolved that henceforth the vote of supplies, even for the household, should be an annual one.

P. 25, l. 28. **Sudbury and Old Sarum.** See note, page 8, line 19.

Pitt represented Old Sarum in 1735.

P. 25, l. 30. **Privy seals, Ship-money.** See note, page 12, line 15. Methods resorted to by Charles I. to raise money, namely, granting monopolies, forced loans, and illegal taxation. See Green's "Short History," Chap. VIII.

P. 26, l. 8. **Dodingtons and Winningtons.** Men noted for their venality. See page 14, lines 10-16.

P. 26, l. 18. **His Council.** The privy council is the only body that can advise the sovereign, but in reality it simply ratifies in a formal way the doings of the cabinet. See note, page 14, line 18.

P. 26, l. 29. **Introduced into the cabinet.** Officers of the royal household had usually been privy councillors, but never members of the cabinet.

P. 26, l. 30. **Lord Holderness resigned the seals.** He was bribed with a pension.

P. 27, l. 15. **Legge.** See page 14, line 6.

Chancellor of Exchequer. Head of the financial system. Formerly and now occasionally united with the office of First Lord of the Treasury, who is usually Premier. Always a member of the

Commons, as it is he who presents the "budget," or "estimated expenses," which can only take place in the Lower House. See page 9, line 4.

PAGE 27, LINE 26. **Montague.** Charles Montague, 1661-1715.

Chancellor of the Exchequer under William III. One of the ablest of England's financiers. He established the Bank of England in 1694, the plan of the Bank having been proposed by William Paterson, a Scotchman, three years before.

P. 27, l. 26. **Godolphin.** Lord Godolphin, 1640-1712. A skilled financier. Tory minister of William III. and of Anne.

P. 28, l. 5. **Party in a dispute, etc.** It was Pitt's policy to conquer America in Germany. This was the "Seven Years' War" in Europe.

P. 28, l. 6. **House of Hapsburg.** The Royal Family of Austria. So called from the Castle of Hapsburg in Switzerland, the first home of the family.

House of Brandenburg. The great House of Hohenzollern. The Elector of Brandenburg became the first King of Prussia. Frederick the Great claimed Silesia, which Charles VI. had left to his daughter Maria Theresa. See note, page 31, line 28.

P. 28, l. 11. **Tower guns were fired.** The guns of the Tower of London were fired on receiving the news of an English victory.

P. 28, l. 20. **Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.** Pitt had placed him at the head of the English and Hanoverian troops in Germany.

P. 29, l. 4, 5. **Duke of Bedford.** See page 4, line 20.

Earl of Hardwicke. See page 14, line 5.

P. 29, l. 12. **Spenser.** Edmund Spenser, 1553(?) - 1599. This is his greatest poem.

P. 29, l. 20. **Vattel.** 1714-1767. A celebrated Swiss jurist, and an authority in international law.

P. 29, l. 30. **The Temple.** Comprising two famous Inns of Court of London, the Middle and the Inner Temple. There were two others, Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn. Something like our law schools.

P. 30, l. 7. **Onslow.** Arthur Onslow, 1690-1768. Speaker of the House of Commons for thirty-three years. Some one has said, "He filled that chair with higher merit, probably, than any one either before or after him."

PAGE 30, LINE 27. **Burke.** 1730-1797. Edmund Burke, the famous Irish orator and statesman. The friend of America during the Revolutionary War. See page 82, line 3, and ff.

P. 30, l. 29. **Ovid.** 43 B.C.-18 A.D. Author of the famous *Metamorphoses*. The reference, *Metamorphoses*, II. 794-796.

P. 31, l. 10. **Victorious.** In America, by the capture of Quebec and the conquest of Canada, in India in Lord Clive's campaigns, and in Germany, sharing in the victories of Frederick the Great.

P. 31, l. 25, 27. **Charles the Third and the Two Sicilies.** Don Carlos was made King of Naples and Sicily as a united kingdom in 1736. He became Charles III. of Spain.

P. 31, l. 28. **Coalition against Maria Theresa.** Maria Theresa, the daughter of Charles VI., of the House of Austria, the Emperor of Germany. At the death of her father, in 1740, she succeeded to the Austrian dominion. But Frederick the Great claimed Silesia, and Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, set up a claim to the Austrian States. This brought on the "War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748. France, Spain, and Prussia fought against the Queen, while England, in order to diminish the power of France, her great enemy, supported the princess. See Macaulay's "Essay on Frederick the Great."

P. 32, l. 17. **Family Compact.** So called because both kings were of the Bourbon family.

P. 32, l. 21. **Fleet with the treasures of America.** Ships which brought the gold and silver from the Spanish colonies in America.

P. 33, l. 8. Pitt resigned. A French philosopher said, "Pitt disgraced, it is worth two victories to us!"

P. 33, l. 27. **Gazette.** Mouthpiece of the court. All official communications were made through it.

P. 34, l. 17. **Lord-Mayor's day.** The ninth of November, the day on which the Lord-Mayor of London is sworn into office. A great day in London: processions, and afterwards a banquet at Guildhall to which royalty and ministers are invited.

P. 34, l. 18. **Guildhall.** Seat of the municipal government of London; the city hall.

P. 34, l. 27. **No Newcastle salmon.** See note, page 7, line 30.

P. 35, l. 2. **Cheapside.** Formerly called West Cheap. The great street of ancient London.

P. 35, l. 17. **Manila.** The capital of the Philippine Islands.

PAGE 36, LINE 8. **Charles Townsend.** 1725-1767. See page 99, line 30, and page 106, line 30.

P. 36, l. 27. **Grub Street garrets.** The residence of "rakes" and second-rate authors.

P. 37, l. 2. **Poetasters of the Fleet.** The Fleet was a famous London prison for debtors. So called from its situation near Fleet River. Not used since 1844.

P. 38, l. 7. **Archbishopric of York.** The Archbishop of York is the second ecclesiastic in England, the Archbishop of Canterbury being the first.

P. 38, l. 29. **Lord Mansfield.** See note, page 13, line 16.

P. 39, l. 20. **Sir Francis Dashwood.** One of the wits of the day describes him as "A man to whom a sum of five figures was an impenetrable secret."

P. 39, l. 26. **The king over the water.** The Pretender lived in France. See note, page 7, line 9. One Jacobite song sung especially by Scotch sympathizers:—

"Over the water, and over the sea,
And over the water to Charlie;
Come weal, come woe, we'll gather and go,
And live or die with Charlie."

P. 40, l. 17. **Her burgesses.** Her representatives in Parliament. First granted by James I.

P. 40, l. 30. **Carteret.** John Carteret, Earl Granville, 1690-1763. A very able Whig statesman. Member of the cabinet under Walpole. The Pelhams (see note, page 7, line 30) had forced the king to part with Carteret. See Macaulay's first "Essay on the Earl of Chatham."

P. 41, l. 11. **German Connections.** The English subsidies which Pitt had promised Frederick the Great were withdrawn, almost to the ruin of that prince. Bute went so far as to offer to give Silesia to Austria and East Prussia to Russia in return for peace. See note, page 31, line 28, and page 28, line 5.

P. 41, l. 13. **Terminated by a peace.** Peace of Paris, September, 1763. This closed the Seven Years' War, or, as we call it, the French and Indian War. What did England gain by it?

P. 41, l. 26. **Duke of Devonshire.** "Prince of Whigs" the Princess-mother called him. Prime Minister for a brief period under George II. See page 51, line 20.

PAGE 41, LINE 27. **Lord Chamberlain.** The chief functionary of the royal household. Always a peer of high rank, and goes out with the ministry.

P. 41, l. 29. **Pay Office.** See page 13, line 21. It was "usual for foreign princes who received the pay of England to give to the Paymaster of the Forces a small percentage on the subsidies."

P. 42, l. 7. **Duke of Buckingham.** George Villiers. The favorite of James I. and of Charles I. He was assassinated in 1628.

P. 42, l. 11. **Strafford** (see note, page 4, line 10), **Falkland, Clarendon, Sunderland** (see note, page 14, line 18), etc. See English History during the Stuarts.

P. 42, l. 21. **Carr.** A worthless favorite of James I. before Buckingham. Convicted of murder.

P. 43, l. 7. **Blended together.** (Redundancy.) England and Scotland were united in 1707.

P. 43, l. 13. **Derby.** Southern end of Young Pretender's route. He retreated for lack of support.

P. 43, l. 14. **Bank of England.** See note, page 27, line 26.

P. 43, l. 18. **Temple Bar.** A historic boundary in London dividing the city of London from the liberty of Westminster. Here stood the Bar or house of stone, with an archway for the passage of carriages. Above the centre of the arch were iron spikes, on which were placed the heads and limbs of persons executed for treason. This custom prevailed until the present century.

P. 43, l. 19. **Kennington Common.** An enclosure of about twenty acres in the suburbs of London, once celebrated as a place of gathering of pugilists and itinerant preachers. Now a park.

P. 43, l. 23. **High-cheeked Drummonds,** etc. Highlanders of Scotland.

P. 44, l. 7. **Mæcenas.** A patron of letters. So called from C. Mæcenas, a Roman statesman in the reign of Augustus, the friend and patron of Virgil and Horace.

P. 44, l. 12. **Johnson.** Dr. Samuel Johnson, 1709-1784. One of the greatest English writers. Chief works: "The English Dictionary," "Lives of British Poets," "Preface and notes to Shakespeare," and "Vanity of Human Wishes."

P. 44, l. 16. **Pillory.** The pillory was in use in England before the Norman Conquest and until 1837.

PAGE 44, LINE 21. **Reynolds.** Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1723-1792. The most celebrated English portrait-painter.

P. 44, l. 27. **Author of the Bard,** etc. Thomas Gray.

P. 45, l. 12. **In his chair.** Sedan chair. Invented at Sedan, France. In the eighteenth century the Sedan chair was the vehicle used by the nobility of London in going short distances.

P. 45, l. 17. **Covent Garden.** Formerly occupied by taverns and coffee-houses, the resort of wits and literary men.

P. 45, l. 25. **Wilkes.** John Wilkes, 1727-1797. A man of dissolute habits and disgraceful private life, with "the requisites for the character of demagogue," says Macaulay. Yet he was instrumental in bringing about three great reforms: the recognition by Parliament of the right of every constituency to return the member of its choice, the freedom of the press, and the reporting of the debates in Parliament.

P. 45, l. 27, 28. **Mother of Edward the Third.** Queen Isabella, wife of Edward II., a woman of remarkable beauty, but of unrestrained wantonness. She, with Roger Mortimer, plotted the dethronement of her husband. Edward III. had Mortimer hanged, and his mother placed in close confinement.

P. 45, l. 28. **Churchill.** Charles Churchill, 1731-1764. A poet and satirist, also a clergyman. A friend of Wilkes.

P. 46, l. 1. **The Picts or the Danes.** Fierce tribes of Scotland and of Scandinavia who overran England, the former during the Roman occupation and the latter in the ninth century.

P. 46, l. 2. **Leprosy.** Leprosy afflicted Scotland for many years.

P. 47, l. 1. **Whig connection.** See page 12, line 1, and note.

P. 47, l. 18. **One man, Henry Fox.** See page 13, line 16, and note.

P. 47, l. 29. **William, Duke of Cumberland,** 1721-1765. Son of George II., and uncle of George III. The victor at Culloden.

P. 48, l. 16. **Holland House,** beyond Kensington, the seat of the Earl of Holland. Henry Fox became Lord Holland.

P. 48, l. 23. **Intended marriage.** Bute and the princess-mother, alarmed at the intimacy of the king with Lady Sarah Lennox, had brought this about.

P. 50, l. 1. **Virgil's foot-race.** "Æneid," Book V., 288-361. An apt illustration. Virgil, 70-19 B.C. The greatest Roman epic poet.

P. 50, l. 21. **Vote for peace.** See note, page 41, line 13.

PAGE 51, LINE 8. **A mart for votes.** During the year, £82,000 of secret-service money was spent. See note, page 9, line 6.

P. 51, l. 19. **Lords-Lieutenants of counties.** See dictionary.

P. 52, l. 4. **Gold key.** Badge of the office of Lord Chamberlain. See note, page 41, lines 26 and 27.

P. 52, l. 24. **Duke of Grafton.** See page 81, line 23.

P. 53, l. 8. **Patents granted.** Patent places. Granting titles of nobility for life. The Chancellor said in reply, "Yes, they might lay the idea before the Judges, and then refer Magna Charta to them afterwards, to decide on that too."

P. 53, l. 11. **Tellers of Exchequer and Justices in Eyre.** See dictionary.

P. 54, l. 13. **A large majority.** The vote was 319 and 65.

P. 54, l. 26. **Budget.** See note, page 27, line 15.

P. 55, l. 4. **Excise.** Dr. Johnson's definition, "A hateful tax upon commodities, and adjudged not by common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid." Walpole's excise scheme was "to transfer the taxes on tobacco and wine from the customs to the excise:" i.e., levy a tax at the manufactory instead of at the port. This was to prevent smuggling.

P. 55, l. 13. **Gentry and Yeomanry.** See dictionary.

P. 55, l. 18. **Dashwood.** See note, page 39, line 20.

P. 58, l. 29. **Garter.** Highest order of English knighthood, and consists of not more than twenty-five knights, besides illustrious foreigners and royalty.

P. 60, l. 9. **Restoration.** In 1660, when Charles II. came to the throne after the period of the Commonwealth.

P. 60, l. 16, 17. **Mayor of the Palace.** Officers of a line of feeble and inefficient French princes (Merovingians) called "do-nothings" in the seventh and eighth century. These officers, called Mayors of the Palace, put down their sovereign and established a new line, the Carolingian.

Childeric and Chilperic were the names of kings of the Merovingian line.

P. 60, l. 20. **Windsor Park.** A park at Windsor, England, stocked with game for the use of the sovereigns.

P. 61, l. 3. **John Wilkes.** See note, page 45, line 25.

P. 62, l. 1. **The Times and Morning Chronicle.** Established soon after the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

PAGE 62, LINE 6. **General Warrants.** A warrant in which no name is inserted, but the officers may arrest whom they suspect. Their use in America denounced by the colonists. Condemned as illegal by House of Commons in 1766. See page 92, line 14.

Tower. "The ancient and famous citadel of London." Famous for the distinguished persons who have been confined within its walls as prisoners of state. Now a depository for the crown jewels and national arms.

P. 62, l. 8. **Papers were seized.** See page 92, line 14.

P. 62, l. 12. **Court of Common Pleas.** Consists of a chief-justice and four judges. The chief civil court, and must be held at Westminster.

P. 62, l. 13. **Chief Justice Pratt.** Charles Pratt, Earl of Camden, 1714-1794. A very eminent statesman and jurist. A great friend of Pitt. A friend of America, and a powerful opponent of Lord North in relation to American taxation.

P. 63, l. 10. **Buckingham House.** In St. James Park. Called the Queen's palace. The favorite residence of George III. and the Queen.

P. 64, l. 24. **Cornet Joyce.** Leader of the Adjutators when they carried off Charles I. from the Parliamentary Commissioners at Holmby House in 1647.

President Bradshaw. John Bradshaw, 1586-1659. President of the High Court of Justice which tried Charles I.

P. 64, l. 29. **Pope.** Alexander Pope, 1688-1744. The celebrated poet and critic.

P. 65, l. 1. **Warburton** edited Pope's works.

P. 65, l. 5. **Horace,** 65-8 B.C. Roman poet.

P. 65, l. 19, 22. **Lord March and Earl of Sandwich.** Men notorious for their vices, and Sandwich, at least, had been intimate with Wilkes.

P. 66, l. 18. **Macheath.** Captain Macheath, a highwayman, who is the hero of Gay's "Beggar's Opera."

P. 67, l. 26. **Henry Conway,** 1720-1795. In 1782, as commander-in-chief of the army, he made the motion to terminate hostilities against the United States.

P. 69, l. 12. **Dismissal of the Whigs.** Queen Anne dismissed her Whig ministers, and appointed a Tory ministry with Harley and St. John at its head.

PAGE 69, LINE 13. **The Peace of Utrecht, 1713.** The treaty was negotiated by the Tory ministry contrary to the desire of the Whigs. In order to get a vote for the peace, twelve peers were created by Harley.

P. 69, l. 13. **Desertion of our allies.** During the War of the Spanish Succession, by reason of secret negotiations for peace between Great Britain and France, England withdrew her troops from the Allied army (Germany, Holland, and England) and left it at the mercy of France.

P. 69, l. 17. **Disgrace of Marlborough.** John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, 1650-1722. The ablest commander that England has ever produced, at least next to Wellington. "He never besieged a fortress which he did not take, or fought a battle which he did not win." The chief adviser of Anne until the latter part of her reign. He was disgraced by a dismissal from his command, charged with dishonesty.

P. 69, l. 20. **Treaty negotiated by Bedford.** See page 41, line 25.

Wrongs of House of Austria. Imperial family of Germany. See note, page 69, l. 13.

P. 69, l. 22. **Wrongs of the House of Brandenburg.** See note, page 28, line 6, and page 31, line 28. Frederick the Great was trying to make Prussia the equal of Austria.

P. 71, l. 13. **At Westminster;** i.e., in Parliament.

P. 72, l. 6. **Another Act.** The Regency Act passed in 1765.

P. 72, l. 7. **The King fell ill.** The beginning of his insanity. It became incurable in 1810.

P. 72, l. 11. **Heir apparent.** Afterward George IV.

P. 73, l. 13. **The Junta.** A faction consisting of Russell, Somers, Charles Montague, and several other Whigs of note, in the reign of William III.

P. 73, l. 24. **Coligni, 1527 (?) - 1572.** The brave Huguenot general.

P. 73, l. 25. **Marshal Soult, 1769-1851.** One of the bravest and most distinguished generals under Napoleon I.

P. 74, l. 12. **Discipline of Potsdam.** Referring to the stern discipline under which Frederick the Great kept his soldiers.

P. 74, l. 16. **Smothering in the Tower.** Richard III., at his accession to the throne, placed his young nephews, Edward V. and his brother, the Duke of York, in the Tower. The boys suddenly

disappeared, and it was alleged that they had been murdered by Richard's orders.

PAGE 76, LINE 14. **Extinxti**, etc. Virgil's "Aneid," IV., 682.

P. 76, l. 26. **Spitalfield's weavers**. Unemployed silk weavers. The House of Lords rejected a bill passed by the Commons to impose as high duties on Italian silks as on the silks of France. The Duke of Bedford alone spoke against it.

P. 77, l. 18. **Charles in Isle of Wight**. In 1647, Charles I. went to the Isle of Wight expecting to receive aid, but found himself a prisoner.

P. 79, l. 26. **Sandys, Winnington, and Yonge**. Ministers under Robert Walpole's administration; of very low morals.

P. 79, l. 27. **Hampden**. See note, page 4, line 4.

P. 79, l. 29. **Russell**. Lord William Russell, 1639-1683. Unjustly executed with Sidney (see note, page 4, l. 29) for suspected complicity in the Rye-house plot.

P. 80, l. 9. **Marquis of Rockingham**, 1730-1782.

P. 82, l. 17. **Turk's Head**. A famous coffee-house in the Strand in London, frequented by Dr. Johnson and Boswell his biographer.

P. 83, l. 26. **Exchange of London**. The great financial centre. Built for the use of merchants and bankers in the sixteenth century. Twice destroyed by fire.

P. 84, l. 21. **Penal laws**. Referring to laws enacted against Roman Catholics. All laws against this sect were not repealed until Relief Bill of 1829.

P. 85, l. 6. **Toleration Act**. Granting freedom to religious beliefs. The first act of this kind known in English history was passed in 1689, at the time of William III.

P. 85, l. 22. **Waters of Bath**. The Romans called Bath Aquae Solis. Celebrated for its hot springs. Called the handsomest city of England.

P. 85, l. 24. **Condemned the Stamp Act**. It was during this debate that Pitt gave utterance to these memorable words: "In my opinion this kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the colonies. . . . America is obstinate! America is almost in open rebellion! Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three million of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."

PAGE 86, LINE 2. **Liturgy of Edinburgh.** Charles I. tried to force upon Scotland a Book of Canons and a new Liturgy, which practically abolished the Presbyterian system and superseded the Knox Liturgy.

P. 88, l. 16. **Sheridan.** Richard Brinsley Butler Sheridan, 1751-1816. He was a boon companion of the Prince Regent, afterward George IV.

P. 90, l. 24. **Court of Requests.** Called Court of Conscience. A court for the recovery of small debts.

P. 94, l. 28. **Wedderburn.** At his death, George III. said of him, "He has not left a greater knave behind him in my dominions."

P. 95, l. 16. **Ormond pattern.** Duke of Ormond, 1610-1688. A firm adherent to the Stuart cause during the civil war and the Commonwealth.

P. 96, l. 8. **Wallenstein.** A celebrated German general of the Imperial army in the Thirty Years' War.

P. 96, l. 17. **Conquerors of Bengal,** etc. See Macaulay's "Lord Clive"

P. 97, l. 26. **Richmond.** The seat of a royal palace ten miles from London.

P. 99, l. 26. **Lord Shelburne,** Marquis of Lansdowne, 1737-1805. Prime Minister in 1782.

P. 100, l. 20. **Kissed hands.** The prime minister kisses the hands of the sovereign when he takes office.

P. 101, l. 20. **The Monument.** Erected to commemorate the great fire of 1666. It stands on the spot where the fire first broke out.

P. 101, l. 28. **William Pulteney,** Earl of Bath, 1682-1764. The leader of the "Patriots," a group of Whigs who were opposed to Walpole's control in reign of George II. Pitt attached himself to this faction when he entered Parliament.

P. 102, l. 10. **Versailles and St. Ildefonso.** Versailles was the royal palace of the French sovereigns after Louis XIV.

St. Ildefonso, called La Granja. A royal palace in Spain, near Madrid.

P. 103, l. 13. **Horace Walpole,** 1717-1797. Youngest son of Sir Robert Walpole. A man of letters, novelist, and critic. Macaulay says, "He was the most eccentric, the most artificial, the most fastidious, the most capricious of men."

PAGE 104, LINE 25. **East India Company.** See Macaulay's "Lord Clive." By the Younger Pitt's East India Bill in 1784, the affairs of the company were placed under control of Parliament.

P. 107, l. 28. **Malingering.** See dictionary.

P. 109, l. 10. **Laid taxes.** This was the tax on tea and a few other articles, 1767.

P. 110, l. 10. **Lord North,** 1733-1792. Prime Minister during the Revolutionary War.

P. 110, l. 16. **Knight of the Shire.** A knight to represent the county in Parliament. Chosen by the freeholders.

P. 110, l. 26. **House had chosen,** etc. They seated the Court candidate, Luttrell. Wilkes was returned four times before he was finally allowed to take his seat. The case of Bradlaugh, a few years ago, was somewhat parallel.

P. 111, l. 6. **Junius.** An anonymous journalist who attacked the ministry, especially the Duke of Grafton and the Duke of Bedford, and even the King. His letters were published in the "Public Advertiser," from 1769 to 1772. They gave a new power to the press, and established its right "to criticise the conduct, not of ministers or Parliament only, but of the sovereign himself." Probably written by Sir Philip Francis. The writer says, "I am the sole depository of my secret, and it shall die with me."

P. 111, l. 8. **Blackstone.** Dr. Blackstone, 1723-1780. Author of the celebrated "Commentaries on the Laws of England."

P. 111, l. 25. **Middlesex election.** See preceding page and note, page 45, line 25.

P. 113, l. 25. **Col. Barré.** Col. Isaac Barré, 1726-1792. British officer under Wolfe; a distinguished debater. An advocate of American independence.

Dunning. John Dunning. Defended Wilkes. In 1780, he brought up the memorable resolution, "That the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

P. 114, l. 4. **Garrick,** 1716-1779. A famous English actor. A friend and pupil of Dr. Johnson.

Talma, 1763-1826. A celebrated French tragedian.

P. 115, l. 20. **To deliver up its arms.** Gen. Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, Oct. 13, 1777.

P. 115, l. 23. **Minden.** The battle of Minden was won from the French by Ferdinand of Brunswick in command of the allies (English and Hanoverians).

PAGE 115, LINE 24. **Moro.** A fort at the entrance to the harbor of Havana.

P. 115, l. 27. **By Spain.** Spain did not recognize the independence of America, but she secretly aided us with money, and in 1779 joined France against England in the European war.

P. 116, l. 21. **Impossible to conquer America.** It was just before the surrender of Burgoyne that Pitt spoke these famous words: "You cannot conquer America. If I were an American as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms, never, never, never!"

P. 117, l. 20. **His favorite son.** William Pitt, 1759-1806. The great English Prime Minister during the last part of the eighteenth century. No man ever exerted such power over the House of Commons. See Macaulay's essay on the Younger Pitt.

P. 117, l. 21. **Duke of Richmond.** Charles Lennox, 1735-1806. A grandson of a natural son of Charles II. A great friend of liberty.

P. 120, l. 26. **Season as dark and perilous.** Pitt died at the height of Napoleon's successes, soon after the battle of Austerlitz. Wilberforce wrote, "Austerlitz killed Pitt."

P. 121, l. 5. **Grattan.** Henry Grattan, 1750-1820. The brilliant Irish orator.

Canning. George Canning, 1770-1827. Prime Minister in 1827. An eloquent orator.

P. 121, l. 6. **Wilberforce,** William, 1759-1823. A great philanthropist and reformer. He obtained the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807.

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